

A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO
EDUCATION UNDER CATHOLIC AUSPICES
IN MARYLAND AND THE DISTRICT
OF COLUMBIA

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1933

BY

MICHAEL FRANCIS ROUSE

(BROTHER BEDE, C. F. X.)

(Reprinted from "The Johns Hopkins University Studies
in Education," Number 22)

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SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CANDIDACY FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
BY
JAMES H. FURST

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The history of the colored race in the United States presents in its broad aspect a vast accumulation of material with significant bearings upon social, political, economic, religious, and educational problems. In a more circumscribed area the State of Maryland offers no less rich a deposit of sources from which may be separated those broad general patterns which hold good for the country at large, and which serve at the same time to reflect the trends of progress and development of the Negro race. For that reason Maryland will be taken as the starting point in the study which this paper aims to develop.

The precise process by which slavery was introduced into Maryland and the stages of growth through which it passed until it became a permanent institution in the State, do not call for elucidation: that service has already been done with sufficient clarity. The one thing which does arrest attention and challenge analysis, is the phenomenal advance of the colored man himself in the ways of civilization and culture, in the career of usefulness to himself and his fellows, during the sixty odd years of his freedom. History, indeed, furnishes us with instances of astounding transformations from skin-clad warriors in the forests to highly civilized peoples; but such conversions were slow, accompanied with much ruthless bloodshed, and, even when consummated, carried with them much of the primitive crudeness of the tribe. In no case was there an immediate and complete break with their savage or barbaric past.

With the emancipated Negro, on the other hand, the release from slavery was unattended by any general uprising. On the contrary the previous faithfulness of the slaves to the families of their absent masters was carried over to the days of freedom as a disposition to peace. In Maryland the Negro's status remained that of a slave in the eyes of the state laws until the adoption of the State Constitution of 1864. This subsequent adjustment to the new order of things was

gradual, decorous in the main, and devoid of those extravagances which signalized the passage of ancient barbaric peoples into the ways of civilized men.

To his offspring, on the whole, he could bequeath little but the story of his enslavement and sufferings—a story largely of discrimination and prejudices of such magnitude as to kill initiative—and an endless storm of fierce criticism which might well have leveled to the ground less ardent ambition.

Yet, despite these handicaps, the colored man has advanced in a truly marvelous way. He has faced courageously the problem of his own welfare and the good of his race with an ambitious outlook and determined purpose. Many have acquired property. By 1900 the number of farms operated by Negroes in Maryland was 5,842; of that number 2,882 were operated by their owners, 371 by part owners, and nine by the owners and their tenants¹ The total acreage for the first of these classes was 82,468 acres, for the second, 18,521 acres, and for the third, 502 acres; of which the percentage improved was 67.1, 76.5, and 65.9, respectively. The value of this farm property in the same year for the holdings of the first class mentioned above is set down in the Census report at \$2,384,352; for the second class at \$466,995; and for the third class at \$8,475.²

In passing it may be remarked that the foregoing manifest of agricultural holdings represents the acquisition and ownership of farm lands and homes by the class of colored men whose forebears stepped out from slavery, penniless and landless, thirty-six years before. The class of free Negroes, of whom there were 74,723 in 1850 and probably about ten thousand more³ at the time the Negro was emancipated in Maryland, were inconspicuous as land owners in rural districts during slavery: their real estate holdings were urban or in close proximity to the cities. Therefore, the foregoing

¹ Special Reports, Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census. Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906), p. 544.

² Special Reports, etc. of 1900, p. 554, Table LIV.

³ Statistical View, etc. of Seventh Census, p. 63. In 1860, there were 83,942 free Negroes in Maryland.

exhibit may be safely taken to represent the advance made by the emancipated slave and his children.

In like manner the Negro, in his new condition of freedom, soon proved alert to the value of education. Under the leadership of the white man and the more energetic of his own race, he raised the rate of literacy for his race from between 5% and 10% in 1860 to 64.8% in 1900⁴ in Maryland alone. Let it suffice for our purpose at present to rest our statistics at 1900, for it was during the preceding thirty-six years that the Negro faced the greatest odds in his advancement, and thereby showed his capability to achieve things worth while. His progress in the last thirty years has borne out the promise made in his showing of the first thirty years of his freedom.

The Negro was not transformed suddenly into a man of parts with the mere drying of the ink on the charter of his freedom in 1863. There was a pre-war civilization behind all that—refining influences and educative forces, memories of which set the patterns for the colored man at the dawn of his freedom.

It has never been realized by the loyal North what is evident to every intelligent Southern man, what a prodigious change had been wrought in this people during its years of bondage, and how, without the schooling of this era, the subsequent elevation of the emancipated slave to a full American citizenship would have been an impossibility. . . . In that condition he learned the three great elements of civilization more speedily than they were ever learned before. He learned to work, he acquired the language, and adopted the religion of the most progressive of peoples. Gifted with a marvelous aptitude for such schooling, he was found in 1865 farther out of the woods of barbarism than any other people at the end of a thousand years.⁵

Such display of high cultural possessions and aspirations as was manifested by the Negro at the time of the Emancipation can be ascribed to the contributions of three institu-

⁴ Special Reports, p. 215, Table XXXVI.

⁵ Quoted from an address by Rev. A. D. Mayo, at the Mohonk Conference in 1890. Report of the Secretary of Interior, 1896, V, Part 2, 1363. It is not argued that this beneficial result ensued from bondage as such. But the point here stressed is that the Negro's contacts with the white man did leave a certain engram of wholesome character which was to emerge later as something quite thoroughly incorporated into the texture of his civilization.

tions: the family, that is, the household of the white slaveholder, the State, and the Church.

To the influence of the slaveowner's family, or household, in molding the manners and ways of many American Negroes as they were prior to the Emancipation, must be accorded primacy in point of time. It was in the family that the first restraints of discipline were applied, and the earliest lessons in useful, orderly pursuits were inculcated. It was from the family that the patterns for imitation were drawn, and the first conceptions about better things were formed. These fine contributions to the Negroes' upbuilding in the ways of civilized life were eminently characteristic of Maryland households in the era in which historians have called the patriarchal age. Not infrequently, then, Negroes were referred to by their masters as "the family" or "our family."⁶

The family, as sketched in the foregoing lines, constituted a unit, not indeed free from blemish and shortcomings, but potent as a conveyer of the good things in the white man's world to the minds and souls of the colored race. The family of Negroes on slave-operated plantations was quite generally divided into field hands and house servants. The latter group seems to have been the ones favored especially with opportunities to acquire learning and imbibe culture through contact with the white man.⁷ The lot of the field hands was quite generally one of toil and drudgery, divorced in the main from all but desultory contacts with school learning.⁸

These scant acquisitions came sometimes through surreptitious attempts at teaching in secret schools,⁹ through other clandestine methods by which children of slaves learned how to read and to write,¹⁰ through open and sympathetic efforts

⁶ Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Documents, I, 382 and passim.

⁷ Woodson, *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, Chap. IX.

⁸ On secret schools, see Douglas, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglas*, pp. 186-189, et al. Frequent mention is made in different writers of clandestine teaching and learning.

⁹ Washington, B. T., *The Story of the Negro*, p. 123; Douglas, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglas*, pp. 186-189; Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*, II, 70-71. "More schools for slaves existed than white men knew of, for it was difficult to find them." — Woodson, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

¹⁰ Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102, 114.

of whites to impart learning to young colored people,¹¹ and through the slaveowners themselves at times.¹² "The very employment of slaves in business establishments accelerated their mental development."¹³ Even the field hand's contact with the white man's culture and refinement left its imprint on that most servile class. "Knowing the value of learning as a means of escape and having a longing for it, too, because it was forbidden, many slaves continued their education under adverse circumstances. . . .

"The majority of these enlightened slaves, however, learned by contact, observation and dint of energy.

". . . here and there a slave became an inventor."¹⁴ Moreover there was a readiness on the part of the more fortunate slaves to communicate to the less fortunate a share in their cultural acquisitions,¹⁵ so that the white man's ideals permeated in some measure the slave population. It seems, then, a valid inference to say that from contact with the white man's culture, the Negro set up ideals in keeping with the models, and cherished them quite generally till the day he became a free man. A further deduction seems likewise valid, that the major contribution of cultural values must be credited to the white man's household and sanctions.

Additional argument for the validity of the foregoing inferences is furnished by the promptness with which the colored man adopted all the white man's ways of living, once he had to shift for himself.

The part played by the State in conveying to the Negro the cultural acquisitions of the white race was very, very secondary until long after the Civil War. In Maryland the most that can be said in favor of State action in the matter of education for Negroes prior to 1864, is that no statutory restrictions had ever been set up.¹⁶ De Bow¹⁷ sets the num-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-97.

¹² Washington, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

¹³ Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 209, 212; Reuter, *The American Race Problem*, pp. 254-255.

¹⁴ Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, pp. 229-230.

¹⁵ Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, p. 206. Cf. Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-189.

¹⁶ Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, p. 197.

¹⁷ De Bow, *Comp. of U. S. Census for 1850*, p. 144.

ber of free colored persons attending school during the year 1850, as returned by families in Maryland, at 1,616;¹⁸ though there is no intimation that any of them were in schools supported in any way by taxation.

What was true of Maryland was true in a more complete sense in all Southern States.¹⁹ We may pass over the State, then, as an institution claiming share in the advancement of the Negro, and proceed to religion as an institution which showed vital concern for his welfare. Yet even in this institution we must discriminate between those proponents of Christ's doctrines who denied the Negro slave's right to baptism and membership in Christ's church because of his bondage, and those who saw no such barriers to his share in spiritual goods.

Outstanding among those latter were the Catholics. The motive underlying Catholic solicitude for the Negro was and is the uncompromising doctrinal attitude of the Church on the claims and rights of *all* men to a share in the fruits of the redemption by Christ. Here, then, we should find the hypothesis on which rests the problem to be solved in this study. To possess the colored man of those spiritual treasures there was need to instruct him in the doctrines of his faith, to educate him in the ways of right living, and to prepare him for the reception of the sacraments. We may, therefore, set it down that Catholic educational work among the colored people grew from informal instruction as a vehicle to impart religious knowledge and morality to a definite formal school system as a more adequate means of conveying religious truths and Catholic practices to Negroes to the end that the colored race be thereby spiritually, morally and intellectually, elevated in a Catholic sense.

The doctrinal attitude of the Catholic Church towards the slave was positive and emphatic. In her eyes the Negro was a member of the human family, made to the image and like-

¹⁸ Brackett, *op. cit.* "The census of 1860 stated that 1,355 free black children were attending school in the state." P. 198. Cf. Washington, B. T., *op. cit.*, p. 124. Washington mentions only private schools.

¹⁹ Olmsted, Frederick Law, *A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States*, p. 601 et passim.

ness of God, and possessed of an immortal soul which is destined for heaven. The Negro, no less than the white man, had been redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and was made thereby a partaker of the fruits of the Redemption. To the colored man, too, were open the channels of grace, the means of sanctification provided by prayer and the seven Sacraments; of him she required a practice of the theological virtues of Faith, Hope, and Charity, and an obedience to the ten commandments of God. The Negro, she taught, would have to render an account at the final reckoning, and stand or fall, just as his white master, on the merits of his own account before the omniscient Judge. On the other hand, she declaimed against the evils that permeated slavery, and with all the emphasis in her power laid down to the master his duty of providing for the spiritual welfare of the slave. Upon the master rested the responsibility before God, from which nothing could release him, to see that his slaves received the Sacraments, obeyed the laws of the Church, and were sufficiently instructed in the truths of their religion and their obligations to keep God's Commandments. The Sovereign Pontiff's²⁰ had uttered numerous pronouncements on the duties of masters towards their slaves, and even did not hesitate to condemn those features of the institution that stood out as abhorrent to the Christian conception of charity and justice.

Church councils here in America reaffirmed the attitude of the Church, and called upon the zealous ones of her children to bestir themselves in works of charity in behalf of the enslaved populace. This Catholic teaching on the natural and essential relations of man to man, of the obligations of masters to servants, opens the way logically to universal education, to the development of God's gifts of mind and heart in education, regardless of racial or social differences.

The decree of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore touching on the Negro is given here.²¹

²⁰ See The Catholic Encyclopedia, XIV, "Slavery," especially pp. 39-40.

²¹ *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis*, 1884, Titulus VIII, Caput II, Nos. 238, 239, 240, 243, pp. 133-135. (Baltimore, John Murphy & Co., 1886.)

- 238 But it being known from experience that only by missions, catechetical instruction, and other exercises of religion especially adapted to their understanding and character can they be successfully induced to accept the faith and a Christian education, we decree that bishops leave nothing undone to have, whenever found possible, churches, schools, orphan asylums and homes for the poor erected for the use of the Negroes. Not only is it our will that convenient and well-adapted place in the common church be assigned to them and the sacraments assiduously administered, at their option, without discrimination, but we decree besides that the ordinaries of dioceses select, to share in so great an undertaking (*in partem tantae sollicitudinis*), priests, secular or regular, whose only duty shall be to preach to these members of Christ's household, teach the rudiments of faith to their children, and discharge the other apostolical duties towards them with the assistance of the rectors, to whom we forbid the throwing of any obstacle in the way of those missionaries to whom the bishop gives
- 239 so holy a charge. And inasmuch as the greatest number of them are yet without the pale of the Church, it is necessary that the ordinaries seek for workmen burning with zeal for souls to send them in that part of the Lord's vineyard (*Messis Domini*). The directors of seminaries should know also that it is their duty, sacredly protecting the rights of everybody, to carefully nurture in the souls of students vocations of this kind. . . . Furthermore, inasmuch as the religious communities of missionaries deservedly glory in having consecrated themselves to the Lord in order to distribute the word of God and the bread of life to men whenever necessity requires, they will undoubtedly come cheerfully to the assistance of our bishops.
- 240 At last we must not leave it unsaid that the establishing of catechists of both sexes would not be found more difficult among us than in heathen countries, if missionaries would give the subject proper attention. Great importance should be attached to this help. They will prepare the way to the sacred ministry of the clergy by gathering the Negroes of the neighborhood of the church, teaching them catechism and sacred hymns. Thus the hard labor of the priest would bear more abundant fruits.
- 243 In every diocese of this country a collection shall be made each year on the first Sunday of Lent, and the receipts thereof shall be sent to a committee on home missions to be appointed hereafter.²²

Motivated, then, by this clearly defined and emphatic doctrine of the Church on the rights of the Negro for a share in the benefits flowing from her channels of grace, and in her pastoral solicitude for man's salvation, the priests and bishops in America had consistently labored to bring to the colored man a share of her treasures of doctrine and morals. So well was this attitude of the Church known to the Negro himself that a recent spokesman for the race does not hesi-

²² Cf. Dutto, Rev. L. A., Negroes in Mississippi, Catholic World, XLVI, February, 1888, p. 577.

tate to credit her with setting an example which other religious denominations could not afford to ignore.

"Spanish and French missionaries," says Woodson, "the first to face the problem, set an example which influenced the education of the Negroes throughout America. Some of the early heralds of Catholicism manifested more interest in the Indians than in the Negroes, and advocated the enslavement of the African rather than that of the Red Men. But being anxious to see the Negroes enlightened and brought into the Church, they courageously directed their attention to the teaching of their slaves, provided for the instruction of the numerous mixed-breed offspring, and granted freedmen the educational privileges of the highest classes. Put to shame by this noble example of the Catholics, the English colonists had to find a way to overcome the objections of those who, granting that the enlightenment of the slaves might not lead to servile insurrection, nevertheless feared that their conversion might work manumission. To meet this exigency, the colonists secured, through legislation by their assemblies and formal declaration of the Bishop of London, the abrogation of the law that a Christian could not be held as a slave. Then allowed access to the bondmen, the missionaries of the Church of England, sent out by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen in Foreign Parts, undertook to educate the slaves for the purpose of extensive proselyting."²³

In general, Catholic participation in the work of educating the Negro may be considered as an undertaking which passed through four distinct stages. It will be shown that in the beginning all efforts were necessarily individual; that they thrived or failed in direct proportion to the initiative and enterprise brought to the work by the individual who sponsored them.²⁴ It will likewise be shown that in the beginning and for years afterwards there was a complete absence of organization, and likewise of official ecclesiastical direction. The bone and sinew of every movement that assumes an official character in the Catholic Church is the Hierarchy, and the Hierarchy was not established in the United States until 1790. Hence, it is only after that date that Catholic educational work among the Negroes could take on the complexion of a diocesan enterprise at all. Even then how soon episcopal attention could be centered upon the Negro and his educational needs, can be readily conjectured when the reader recalls the schisms and the discordant elements which disrupted the Church, disorganized her work,

²³ Woodson, C. G., *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*.

²⁴ See below, pp. 19-20.

and set up a movement of constant unhealthful disturbance, enduring in some measure until 1850.²⁵ These disintegrating influences had to be removed first, and the administrative machinery brought into smooth running condition before much attention could be given to the colored man.²⁶

Besides the delay caused by those disturbances there were also barriers of property rights, which had to be respected in the case of slaves. A greater deterrent still had to be reckoned with in the strong popular prejudices against teaching²⁷ the colored man anything except what would lighten his usefulness to his owner, and render him more submissive to the existing order. By the end of the eighteenth century the patriarchal era of slavery had passed, and with its passing, the door was closed to benevolent treatment of the Negro, and a bar was set to all opportunity for the colored man to better himself intellectually.²⁸ Whatever chance was his to grow in scholarship was withdrawn; and his condition became more servile. The first two decades of the nineteenth century, synchronous with the general adoption of the cotton gin, and the consequent general speeding up of the cotton industry, bore heavily on the Negro;²⁹ his purpose in the economic scheme was to produce wealth for his master. Though the peak of this harsh treatment of the colored population soared over the cotton-raising States, the Negro in Maryland,³⁰ too, felt the burden grow heavier upon his shoulders. This general attitude, then, on the part of the slaveholders towards the Negro, and in some sense the atti-

²⁵ Shea, John Gilmary, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1763-1815*, II, 418-419, 423, 450. See also the recent contributions to Church history from the pen of Reverend Peter Guilday, Ph. D., of the Catholic University of America; viz., *Life and Times of John Carroll*, *Life and Times of John England*, *The Church in Virginia (1815-1822)*.

²⁶ See Appendix I.

²⁷ Douglas, Frederick, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglas*, pp. 94-97.

²⁸ Roman, C. V., *Am. Civilization and the Negro*, pp. 154-155 and footnote on p. 155; Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189.

²⁹ Reuter, E. B., *The American Race Problem*, pp. 259-260.

³⁰ Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-223, 225. "The feeling was, about this time, very bitter toward all colored people in Baltimore (1836), and they — free and slave — suffered all manner of insult and wrong."

tude of the white populace as a whole towards the colored man, when taken in connection with certain insurrectionary alarms and the later activities of abolitionists, created fears⁸¹ and distrust which restricted educational work for the Negro at the time very much to the free colored persons and manumitted slaves. The time here considered extends from about 1830 on till the late '50's.

In 1829, Catholic educational work in behalf of the Negro took an organized form through the special efforts of Reverend James Maria Hector Nicholas Joubert de La Muraille, a Sulpician priest of Baltimore.⁸² The community of religious teachers which he founded that year has continued uninterruptedly the work of Catholic education among the colored to the present day.

The period, then, which opens with Abbé Joubert's foundation of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, and closes in 1860, marks the process by which individual and disparate efforts passed over into organized attack upon the problem of Negro education under Catholic auspices.

By 1870, missionary work for the Negro, and educational measures in the colored man's behalf began to unfold in vigorous growth under a more centralized control and direction. This is a period of readjustment and reorganization. Two Plenary Councils⁸³ held in Baltimore had each rallied new forces to the ranks of workers; and new stimulation came from abroad. Reverend Herbert Vaughan, later Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster, had organized a society of missionary priests; in the Autumn of 1871 the society had assigned to it, by the Holy See itself, its first sphere of work. "Its missionaries were called upon to go to America, and there consecrate themselves to the special service of the Negro population of the United States."⁸⁴ These Mill Hill Josephites, as they were then called, made

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94; Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 97, 98, 199, 202, 224-226.

⁸² Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 92. See also *The Oblates, Hundred and One Years*, by Grace H. Sherwood, Macmillan Co., 1931. The Catholic Almanac for 1834, p. 126, gives his name as Hector Joubert.

⁸³ Catholic Encyclopedia, II, 235-239; Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 406, 432, 444, 453, 460; IV, 367-372.

⁸⁴ Sneed-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, I, 167-168.

education the very foundation of their apostolic work from the beginning, and for the next thirty years exerted a preponderating influence upon the trend of Catholic school policies affecting the colored people. Additional communities of teaching sisterhoods enlisted their services in the schools and institutions for Negro welfare.

The opening years of the twentieth century mark the advent of a new impetus to Catholic educational work for the Negro. This was effected by better organization. By 1907 three important boards supplied direction and financial aid.

A most important force behind the movement after the beginning of the twentieth century was supplied by members of the Drexel family and their intimate friends. Outstanding among them is Miss Katharine Drexel, better known as Mother Katharine from the fact that she founded a sisterhood for labor among Indians and Negroes, and herself embraced the common life of that community. She was a valiant friend of the education of the Negro.

Summary. The ready adjustment of the colored people in freedom to the mores of the nation is assigned to antecedent influences supplied by the household of the white man and by the solicitude of religious agencies for the Negro's spiritual welfare. The conveying of religious truths was facilitated by teaching first a command of the fundamental processes of learning. The assumption is made that Catholic endeavors to impart religious instruction to the Negro passed from oral catechising and explaining in the beginning to formal school arrangements to teach reading and writing as a more adequate means of imparting knowledge of doctrines and morals, and that thence arose the present system of organized schools by Catholics for the colored people. That statement embodies the thesis to be proved in this study.

Authoritative expressions of the Catholic attitude toward the education of the Negro are stated. A survey is made of the colored man's status and of his opportunities. Allusion is made to the deterrents operating within the Catholic fold which delayed the execution of school projects till toward the year 1818.

Prior to that time there was informal teaching, without organization, and without Church direction, and entirely for the free Negro.

For the purposes of this study the history of Catholic educational effort in the Negro's behalf will be divided into four periods. Up to 1818 no formal school arrangement was resorted to, and whatever was done between that date and 1828 lacked the element of endurance. The period may be considered as one of transition. By 1829 there appeared characteristics which betoken organization and permanence. The Second Plenary Council, held in 1866, seems to have been a source of new energy, and has therefore been taken as the beginning of a third period.

The fourth period began about 1900 and extends to the present time. The reasons for marking it off for separate consideration are the more effective organization, the greater growth and the wider expansion that are manifest since 1900.

CHAPTER II

EARLY DISTRIBUTION OF CATHOLIC NEGROES IN MARYLAND

The lowlands of Maryland bordering upon both shores of the Chesapeake, with its numerous inlets and tributaries, provided a soil which, in its virgin state, deep and fertile, was admirably adapted to the raising of tobacco, corn, wheat, early vegetables and small fruits. "Nearly all the berries known to the country, and nearly all the indigenous wild fruits, are to be found growing naturally in the fields and forests; and all the chief grasses are of spontaneous growth. Even timothy itself springs up spontaneously in the deep soils of the glades."¹ Within twenty-two years after the landing at St. Mary's, Scharf tells us, apple and peach orchards had become a noticeable and even conspicuous feature in the landscape. Dense forests of both hard and soft wood abounded; and the first task that beset the landowner was to clear the land. Woods valuable today had then no worth beyond the needs of the immediate neighborhood; and they served only to add new elements of fertility to the land when they were burned. Consequently the harvests reaped and garnered from this newly-claimed land gave promise at once, by their abundant offerings, of an inexhaustible richness of soil—a delusive expectation which the pleasure-loving, indolent aristocratic planter was glad to cherish till by intense cultivation of tobacco almost exclusively he robbed the land of nearly its last vestige of plant food. Then further clearings and larger fields carried agriculture steadily inland from the waterfront, and moved the throng of bondmen westward into the state.²

To the African fell the task of tilling the soil; and the advantages of slavery, therefore, made a strong appeal to the landowner of the tidewater area in the light of both necessity³ and economy. Consequently, the large slaveholding area

¹ Scharf, J. Thomas, *History of Maryland*, II, 6.

² Phillips, U. B., *American Negro Slavery*, p. 336.

³ In the correspondence of the missionary priests engaged in the lowland parts of Maryland frequent mention is made of unhealthy climate. "The climate is so unhealthy," writes Rev. Michael J. Byrne,

of the state at the beginning of the nineteenth century embraced the eastern shore up to and including much of Cecil county, which lies next to the Pennsylvania state line, and the western shore from the same northern limit southward and lying mainly east of the present tracks of the Pennsylvania Railroad on to the Potomac. Prince George's county, a seeming exception, belonged to the general terrain of its neighbors and shared with them the bounty of nature on the one hand and a ready accessibility to markets on the other. Frederick county, rich in slaves, marks the most important slaveholding area inland and west of the riparian plantations.

This expanse of tilled agricultural land in Maryland in 1800 lay back from a shore line of 509 miles,⁴ including coast line, bays, islands and all irregularities, nowhere more than thirty miles as the crow flies from the waterfront. The distribution of slaves and free Negroes over that area in 1800 is shown by counties in the following table, based on the census of that year.

The colored population, thus distributed in Maryland, embraced three groups. The most numerous group, the slaves, had no direct educational advantages, though the education of slaves was not prohibited by state law.⁵ Of the free Negroes may be formed two other groups: those who were never in bondage, who possessed some measure of education and a modicum of wealth, and who in large part came from San Domingo; and those who were the manumitted slaves, both black and mulatto. To each of these classes of colored people in turn, as well as to the slaves, we shall devote special study in order to ascertain to what extent they were

from Newtown, St. Mary's County, Feb. 6, 1810, "that deaths and calls to the sick are almost daily." (Cathedral Archives, 2E 6.) Cf. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 383. Physician's attention cost the plantation, St. Thomas' Manor, \$137.00 for a year and a half, from May 14, 1821, to Nov. 26, 1822.

⁴ Statistical View of the United States, Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census, by J. D. B. DeBow, Superintendent of the United States Census (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, Public Printer. 1854), p. 34.

⁵ Brackett, Jeffrey R., *The Negro in Maryland*, p. 197; *Special Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1870*, p. 352.

16 DISTRIBUTION OF CATHOLIC NEGROES IN MARYLAND

TABLE I

NEGRO POPULATION BY COUNTIES FROM THE CENSUS OF 1800 *

EASTERN SHORE			WESTERN SHORE		
<i>Counties</i>	<i>Slaves</i>	<i>Free Negroes</i>	<i>Counties</i>	<i>Slaves</i>	<i>Free Negroes</i>
Cecil	2,103	373	Harford	4,264	1,344
Kent	4,474	1,786	Baltimore	6,830	1,536
Caroline	1,865	602	Baltimore City	2,843	2,771
Queen Anne	6,517	1,025	Anne Arundel	9,760	1,833
Talbot	4,775	1,591	Calvert	4,401	307
Dorchester	4,566	2,365	Charles	9,558	571
Somerset	7,432	586	St. Mary's	6,399	622
Worcester	4,398	449	Montgomery	6,288	262
			Prince George	12,191	648
Totals	36,130	8,777	Totals	62,534	9,894

NOTE—Carroll was organized as a county in 1836; Howard, in 1851; Wicomico, in 1867; and Garrett, in 1872.			Allegany	499	101
			Washington	2,200	342
			Frederick	4,572	473
			Totals	7,271	916

* From A History of Maryland, by James McSherry, Esq., pp. 405-407.

beneficiaries of the educational resources proffered, and of the efforts put forth by the Catholic Church through her priests and other teaching bodies working under her auspices. Furthermore, the time element in this investigation will not extend back farther than a hundred years; and the field to which we shall limit the study and survey of Catholic educational activities will at no time greatly overstep the original boundaries of the State of Maryland.

Before proceeding at once to a consideration of the central theme of this paper, we shall discuss briefly a few antecedent conditions that influenced the Negro and made him as he was at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first of these was the general attitude of the white populace toward the intellectual enlightenment of the colored man.

Though the law of Maryland did not forbid the education of slaves and free Negroes, still the absence of prohibitive or restrictive legislative measures brought little good to the

colored man in the way of intellectual training. Fear prevailed that if he learned to read and write he would soon learn to run away from his master, or to create mischief and brew trouble.⁶ This fear, too, carried itself over as a sense of insecurity and of distrust of the free Negro, and greatly hampered efforts for his education. This unfavorable attitude of the whites not only existed at the beginning of the century, but also endured with increasing intensity throughout the period of slavery and long after its abolition.

Another very important factor in the process of creating the educational atmosphere in which the Negro found himself living in the opening years of the nineteenth century, was the attitude of the whites towards education in general, and towards that of their own children in particular. From a view of the prevailing situation of learning at the time in Maryland, we can readily see how scant the attention must have been to the educational improvement of the colored man. Concerning the white man himself, the picture is a dismal one, indeed, and we shall let Scharf delineate it, and dispose the deep shades and uncertain shadows on a canvas that shows but few high lights in learning and scholarship.⁷

By 1770 there was a distinctly aristocratic class in Maryland, numerous, wealthy plantation owners, whose fortunes rested on lands and slaves. Some of them were well educated, trained abroad in the schools of France and England, and made up the body of professional men and officeholders; but all of them kept aloof from other classes.

One part of this class, living up-country and secluding themselves more and more on their plantations . . . relapsed into the old sottweed manners again and brought up their children in comparative ignorance,

⁶ Woodson, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-169. Cf. Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 202, 224-226; cf. Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137: "The whole community among the whites, but with one single exception, frowned upon everything like imparting instruction, either to slaves or to free colored persons. That single exception, a pious young man named Wilson, asked me one day if I would like to assist him in teaching a little Sabbath school at the house of a free colored man named James Mitchell."

⁷ Scharf, Thomas J., *History of Maryland*, II, 22 and following; cf. Andrews, Matthew Page, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1929), pp. 263-268.

though on a good many plantations there were indentured servants who knew enough to become school-masters. . . . In the towns, the burgher and mechanic classes received some schooling, but very little, and probably much more than half the population, not including the slaves, were totally illiterate and grossly ignorant. This applies to the children of the middle class farmers and planters, between whom and the aristocracy up to the time when the Revolution cemented all classes together with a common bond of union, there was practically no intercourse except at the hustings and at the county town on court days. They had their separate coffee-houses and taverns, and the line of caste was rigidly drawn in the fashionable assemblies then so popular.

These circumstances and the fact that no real attempt had been made so far to popularize education, in spite of many legislative reachings that way, justify the conclusion that the people of Maryland were illiterate in the general average. . . .

The school-masters were a low and dissolute set . . . education was restricted to classes . . . girls had scarcely any, and . . . there was at once a lack of system in teaching and an absence of sympathy on the part of the people with the attempts to establish a general plan of free schools.

Responsibility for this sorry condition of things educational, Scharf lays at the door of the Established Church for a hundred years.⁸

Bearing on this same topic is the following excerpt taken from a work put out in 1798 by Thomas Dobson * in Philadelphia under the title "Encyclopaedia; or a Dictionary of Arts, Sciences," etc.

The number of inhabitants of this state, including the Negroes, (is) 319,728, which is nearly 23 for every square mile. The inhabitants, except in the populous towns live on their plantations, often several miles distant from each other. . . . As the Negroes perform all the manual labor, their masters are left to saunter away life in sloth, and too often in ignorance. . . .

That pride which grows on slavery, and is habitual to those, who, from their infancy, are taught to believe and to feel their superiority, is a visible characteristic of the inhabitants of Maryland. But with this characteristic we must not fail to connect that of hospitality to strangers, which is equally universal and obvious. . . .⁹

Despite scant opportunities, however, there were examples of outstanding achievement by Negroes.¹⁰

⁸ Cf. Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1895-1896, p. 275. Vol. I, containing Part I (Washington, 1897).

* Thomas Dobson, a bookseller and author of Philadelphia, died March 8, 1823. He republished the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (21 vols., 4to., including the supplement, 1798-1803), and wrote *Letters on the Character of the Deity and the Moral State of Man* (2 vols., 12mo., 1807).

⁹ *Encyclopaedia; or, A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature; etc.* (Philadelphia, Thomas Dobson, 1798), X, 617.

¹⁰ Woodson, C. G., Ph. D., *The Negro in Our History*, p. 137 ff., et al.

Though the Negro stands at the threshold of the nineteenth century innocent of learning in a literary sense, he was not without some training in trades and crafts. Quite generally a course of training was given by many masters to promising ones of their slaves. Its purpose was to make the slave a useful member of the family, a profitable possession, equipped to do the kind of work for which his talents fitted him.¹¹ Accordingly, there were among the men skilled mechanics, such as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, shoemakers, harness makers, and the like; and among the women, cooks, seamstresses, weavers, and so on. The bulk of the slaves, both male and female, were trained as field hands, and were, therefore, subjected to less of the refining influence of education.¹²

Such specialization in training for the mechanic arts was not the exclusive boon conferred by one class of slaveholders alone, and was prompted more by economic reasons and by an attempt to supply immediate demands, than by any benevolent or religious motive.¹³

The aggregate of results in Negro education under Catholic inspiration and direction were attained after 1784. Prior to that date there was scarcely anything worth the name of education done for the slave even by Catholic masters.¹⁴ In a lengthy account written by Reverend John Carroll to Cardinal Antonelli, Prefect of the Propaganda, 27th of February, 1785, special mention is made of abuses that had grown

¹¹ (Cathedral Archives, 1R2). A letter from J. B. Bitouzé refers to two carpenters, two apprentices, and a blacksmith, the value of the head carpenter being set at \$250. The ownership of a carpenter and apprentice being in dispute, the Court at Marlboro, April 12, 1803, decided the title of ownership in favor of the plantation at White Marsh (Cathedral Archives, 1R4). Cf. Dubois, *The Negro Artisan*, Atlanta University Publications, pp. 20-21.

¹² Woodson, C. G., Ph. D., *The Negro in Our History*, pp. 108, 248, et passim.

¹³ Woodson, C. G., *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, p. 123 and chap. XII, p. 283 ff.; Tiernan, Charles B., *The Tiernan and Other Families* (Baltimore, William J. Gallery & Co., 1901), contains an interesting and confirmatory exhibit in the inventory of Mrs. Somerville's slaves, which appears on the page opposite 273, where are listed two carpenters and a weaver with their respective values. The will is dated April 15, 1807.

¹⁴ See ante, p. 9.

among Catholics. "Then among other things," say the Report, "a general lack of care in instructing their children and especially the Negro slaves in their religion, as these people are kept constantly at work, so that they rarely hear any instructions from the priest, unless they can spend a short time with one; and most of them are consequently very dull in faith and depraved in morals. It can scarcely be believed how much trouble and care they give the pastors of souls."¹⁵

It will be necessary first to devise a means for sifting out from the vast throng of more than 125,000 colored people, slave and free, who dwelt in Maryland in 1800, those who can rightly be considered members of the Catholic Church, and therefore subject to her laws, and the object of her teaching care. Fortunately for our purpose, there existed always throughout the years of slavery a principle of general application that the slave followed the religion of his master. "No master would look with favor upon seeing his slave proselyted or influenced by a minister whom he would not tolerate as his own spiritual advisor."¹⁶ This generally prevailing custom, then, makes it possible to eliminate from the reckoning all those parts of the state where there was no Catholic population at all, or where the Catholics were too few and scattered to have organized religious advantages.

To determine the whereabouts of Catholic slaves, we shall mark out first the locations of the Jesuit plantations and manors. It is an interesting fact in connection with these central Jesuit missionary foundations that they were situated no farther apart than a man could travel on horseback in a day's journey. Beginning, then, at the extremity of St. Mary's county, these missions, stations, plantations, and manors formed a chain inland, on through Charles county to Georgetown in the District of Columbia, thence through Prince George's county and on to Baltimore. North of Baltimore the most important Jesuit mission was known as Bohemia manor, located in Cecil county. Between that point

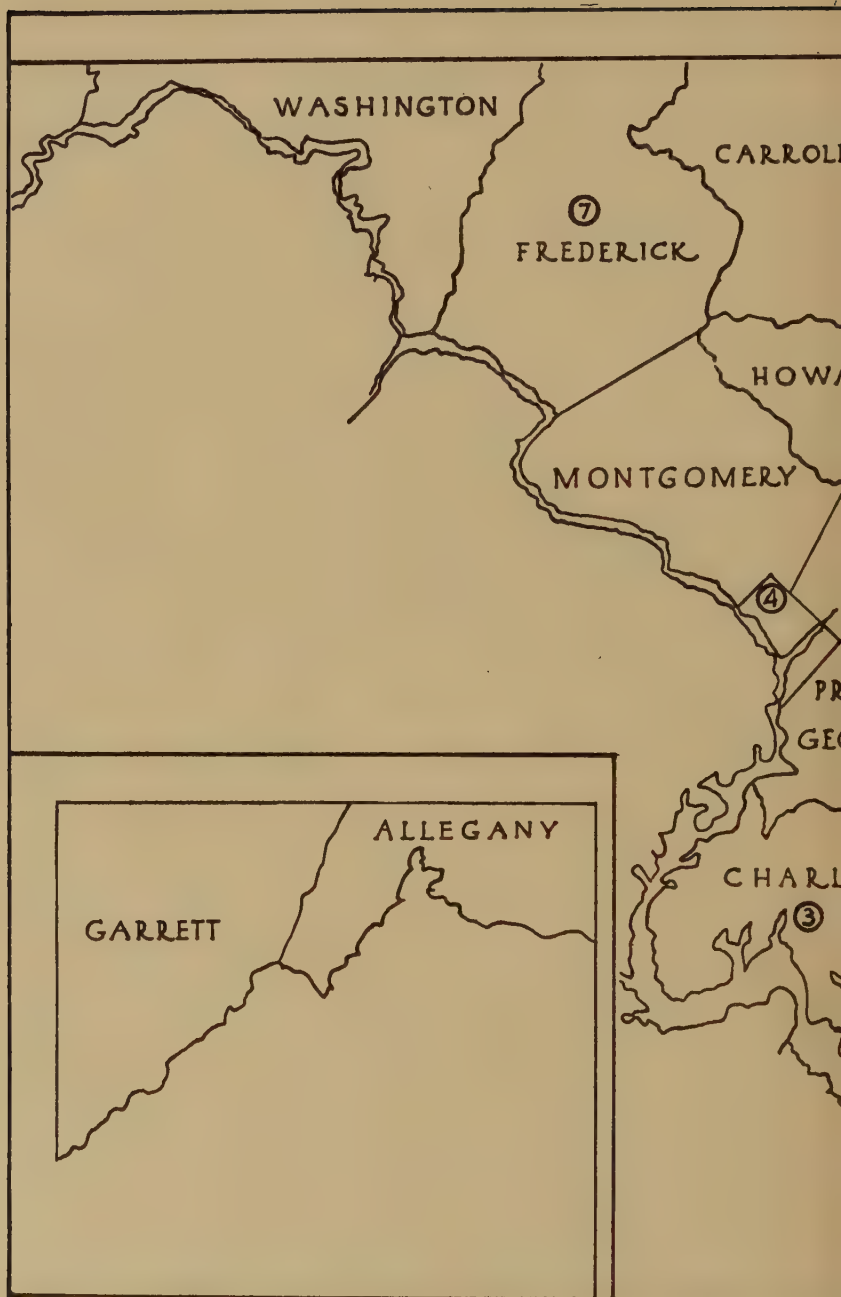
¹⁵ Shea, J. G., *The Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, p. 259.

¹⁶ Woodson, C. G., *The History of the Negro Church*, pp. 132, 144-145.

A MAP OF MARYLAND

(About 1820)

Showing the Counties, and Marking the Centers around
Which Were Gathered the Negroes Who Professed
the Catholic Faith, or Were Subjected to Cath-
olic Teaching Prior to Emancipation.





- 1 *St. Inigoe's*
- 2 *Newtown*
- 3 *St. Thomas's Manor*
- 4 *Georgetown*
- 5 *White Marsh*
- 6 *Baltimore*
- 7 *Frederick*
- 8 *Deer Creek*
- 9 *Bohemia Manor*
- 10 *Queen's Town*
- 11 *St. Joseph's*

EARLY JESUIT
MISSIONS
in
MARYLAND

and Baltimore the Catholic population was small; the earliest mention of any center of Catholic activity in that stretch of country locates it between Conowingo and Belair; it was called Deer Creek. From Bohemia manor were given all the Catholic ministrations that were found necessary for the upper eastern shore; and in that connection specific mention is made of Kent, a station. Westward in the state, the most important Jesuit center was at Frederick.¹⁷

Belonging to the western shore and extending inland, were several other centers around which were gathered Catholics in sufficient numbers to require the ministrations of a resident priest. In these parochial centers, served for the most part by the diocesan clergy, will be found a goodly number of colored people of the Catholic faith. The location of these parishes will be pretty well determined by the directory lists appearing in the Catholic Almanac¹⁸ for 1833 and 1834, the first and second numbers of the publication which contain tabular data. The insertion of these parishes in the Almanac at that date stamps them as official Catholic centers, and gives an assurance that it would be bootless to search for others prior to 1833.

The Catholic Almanac for 1834 mentions four other parishes on the eastern shore, south of Bohemia manor: Denton in Caroline county and St. Joseph's in Talbot county, both attended by one priest, the Reverend J. B. Carey, whose residence was at St. Joseph's; Queen's Town and Dorset county, both under the care of the Reverend Thomas D. Monnelly, who made his residence at Queen's Town. The Catholic Almanac for 1860 lists additional parishes at Conowingo, Elkton, Deer Creek in Harford county, and Port Deposit. This number of the Almanac clears up also any uncertainty as to the parishes listed in the issue of 1834. St. Joseph's is at Wye Mills, Talbot county; Queen's Town is

¹⁷ Shea, J. G., *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 37 and following; also II, chap. I, passim, chap. II, 66 and following, chap. IV, 197 and following.

¹⁸ The United States Catholic Almanac, or Laity's Directory (Baltimore, James Myres, at the Cathedral). The Directories of 1817 and 1822 were not very definite in their data. None appeared between 1822 and 1833.

Queenstown, Queen Anne's county; and Dorset county is Dorchester county, and the parish, St. Mary's, was attended by the priest at Wye Mills, in Talbot county. The station, listed as Kent's in the Almanac for 1834, was at Georgetown Cross Roads in Kent county.

For the purpose of this study, we may, therefore, dismiss from consideration all other parts of the state than those districts served by priests from the parochial centers named above.

In the first place we are to look for Catholic slaves only where there were Catholic masters; in the second place we are to look for Catholic masters only where there were Catholic parishes, missions, and stations. Surely, in the absence of some sort of Church superintendence and direction, there could be no enterprise, educational or otherwise, that could be properly considered as under Catholic auspices.

Summary. The slave population of Maryland in 1800 was 105,935; the free Negroes numbered 19,587. Of the free Negroes a considerable number came from San Domingo. The bulk of the colored population clustered within an area hemmed by the shores of the Chesapeake and extending inland not much more than thirty miles.

Those of them that were Catholics were to be found only where there were Catholic religious centers.

Education in Maryland had declined to a low level by 1800, even for the whites. The Negroes received scarcely any. The general attitude of the whites toward teaching the Negro was unfavorable.

CHAPTER III

THE SLAVE AS THE RECIPIENT OF CATHOLIC TEACHING

The first group of Negroes to which this inquiry will be directed is composed of slaves. Slaves in Maryland were not included in President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Slavery was abolished by the adoption of the State Constitution of 1864.¹ Previous to that date it was a legal institution anywhere within the state. Its actual operation, however, was confined all that time to a somewhat restricted area. Economic and climatic conditions had much to do with that restriction, and are mainly responsible for the failure of slavery to spread westward with strength throughout the state. The total slave population in Maryland in 1800 was 105,935, the bulk of which was found on the lands washed by the tides of the Chesapeake Bay and those skirted by the navigable waters of the Potomac. Both Prince George county and Montgomery county, each with large slave populations, had, in addition to advantage of soil common to the tidewater counties, a considerable frontage on the Potomac; they can, therefore, be considered as possessing commonality with them. The rest of the state harbored 7,271 slaves at the time considered, a number exceeded by four of the tidewater counties in their individual quotas. (See Table I).

In 1784, at the time when Reverend John Carroll assumed the duties of Prefect Apostolic for the Catholics in this country, there were according to his report submitted to the Holy See 3,000 Negroes in Maryland who belonged to the Catholic faith.² These for the most part lived in the rural districts of the western shore: the total Catholic population of the eastern shore is set down as 600 at Father Joseph Mosley's death in 1787.³ These figures are doubtless little better than rough estimates, for no accurate census had been taken. Even as late as Archbishop Neale's administration (1815-1817) that Prelate in his second report to the Holy

¹ Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

² Catholic Encyclopedia, II, 229.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

See confesses his inability to give the number of Catholics in the Archdiocese (Cathedral Archives, 12P7). From a letter written by Reverend James Moynihan to Archbishop Neale from St. Joseph's on the eastern shore, under date of May 27, 1817, it appears that the Catholics who attended St. Joseph's did not exceed 300 (Cathedral Archives 12 A-K5). St. Joseph's was the central mission for Talbot county. The other missions on the eastern shore were not much larger at that time. Perhaps a conservative estimate of the entire Catholic population of that part of Maryland between 1800 and 1830 would never exceed 2,500, of whom the slaves were about one-fourth.⁴ Accordingly, it seems a safe inference on the whole, to consider the slave population who came under Catholic influence as resident mainly on the western shore. Lending strength to that view is the fact that rarely were there more than three priests laboring on the eastern shore at any one time during those thirty years.

The years of Bishop Carroll's occupancy of the See of Baltimore fell within the period of organization in Catholic Church administration. Education formed an early concern of the Bishop, and several institutions of an educational nature opened and flourished within his diocese.⁵ Concern for the Negro Catholics was not lacking, though no steps were taken to start anything like schools for their training.

Writing from Baltimore under date of July 15, 1794, Bishop Carroll has this to say in response in part to a letter received from the Reverend Mr. Thayer in Alexandria, Virginia:

I am as far, as you, from being easy in my mind at many things I see and know relating the treatment and manners of the Negroes. I do the best I can to correct the evils I see; and then recur to those principles, which, I suppose, influenced the many eminent and holy missionaries in America and Asia, where slavery equally exists (Cathedral Archives, 9T2).

⁴ Compendium of U. S. Census, etc., 1854, p. 85, table LXXV; also p. 94. See also Hughes, Thomas, History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Text, II, 472.

⁵ E. g., St. Mary's College, Baltimore; Georgetown College, D. C.; St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg; Visitation Convents, Baltimore and Washington, et al.

Again in a letter, dated September 1, 1801, and addressed to Messrs. Nealy, Molyneux, Walton, and Sewall, Bishop Carroll writes on page 3 of that communication:

. . . That the Negroes of the Marsh of whose salvation we, not only as clergymen, but as proprietors, are bound most specially to take care, are at present absolutely destitute of all assistance. . . . This is a subject of most serious consideration for you and me; you as representing the proprietors; me as their head pastor (Cathedral Archives, 9P1).

These two written expressions of his views serve to determine what was Bishop Carroll's attitude toward the colored members of his flock, and exhibit his readiness to ameliorate their condition, and his solicitude to conserve for them whatever natural rights society in those days reluctantly conceded to them.

Just how far religious instruction took on the character of literary education in the case of Catholic Negro slaves in Maryland is not entirely manifest. The period under consideration here was that time before the inception of the parochial school system; and whatever was done for the Negro in the way of teaching him to read was due to individual effort on the part of a few benevolent people. The method was tutorial. Woodson leads us to believe that there was considerable teaching of the rudiments of education as a means to convey Christian thought. "Before the reactionary period," he tells us, "all instruction of the colored people included the teaching of the rudiments of education as a means to convey Christian thought. But with the exception of a few Christians the Southerners, thereafter, used the word instruction to signify the mere memorizing of principles from the most simplified books. The sections of the South in which the word instruction was not used in this restricted sense were mainly the settlements of Quakers and Catholics who, in defiance of the law, persisted in teaching Negroes to read and write."⁶ Though no statute ever expressly prohibited teaching Negroes, there were, for all that, numerous laws and ordinances against tumultuous assemblies and against the presence of colored people on the streets

⁶ Woodson, C. G., *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, p. 11.

after nine or ten o'clock at night, which might be made to operate to the embarrassment of school work in the colored man's behalf,⁷ and doubtless did so operate when the popular white sentiment glowed hot against the Negro, as at the time following the "Snow Riot" in Washington⁸ and the Nat Turner rebellion in Virginia (1831).

The documentary evidence of educational efforts to ameliorate the condition of the Negro during the first three decades of the nineteenth century center pretty much around attempts to carry on school work for the free Negro, though there are instances of where such advantages were accorded talented youths still in slavery, particularly before the patriarchal era had vanished.

As to the Negro slaves in general, virtually no attention was paid to their training in the common school subjects of reading, writing, and number work. Those of them that enjoyed a modicum of these advantages were mainly house slaves and those of the artisan class, for whom some elementary learning was necessary to enable them to follow their trades. Just how many of the slaves in Maryland and the District of Columbia were employed as mechanics cannot be known, for in no census have the occupations of slaves been recorded.⁹ But whatever their number, their training in literary and technical knowledge was acquired in a wholly informal fashion, with little else in view than to render them useful.

Catholic slaveholders as a class in Maryland were actuated by no loftier motive in the intellectual advancement of their slaves than their neighbors of different faiths. True, there were notable exceptions; but in the main it was the religious leaders, the priests and their bishops, who bestirred themselves to lift the slave upward.¹⁰

Between 1462 and 1888 eight Popes raised their voices in condemnation of the evils associated with slavery. Within

⁷ Brackett, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-206.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁹ Statistical View, etc., p. 94.

¹⁰ Special Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1871, p. 218.

the nineteenth century Pius VII (in 1815), Gregory XVI¹¹ (in 1839), Pius IX (in 1850), and Leo XIII (in 1888) uttered pronouncements which clearly set forth the Catholic attitude on that question.

The Catholic clergy of Maryland, with these directive principles before them, exhibited interest in the integrity of the family and opposed sales which would break it up. On January 26, 1826, to cite an example, the Reverend P. J. DeVos, pastor of Rockville, found it necessary to bring to the attention of Archbishop Maréchal a pathetic situation within the parish caused by the heartless injustice of an eighty-year old woman slaveholder who, because of a personal dislike for a female, broke up a family and dispatched the wife and children to Kentucky, leaving the husband disconsolate to end his days forever separated from his wife and offspring. (Cathedral Archives, 15 Q8).¹²

The slaveholders, jealous of their property rights, and sometimes fearful of losing control of their bondmen, resented well-intentioned efforts on the part of their pastors for the betterment of the slaves. Great tact had to be employed in their mediations between the slave and his master. Rarely were there found among the priests noisily outspoken advocates of abolition, or persistent agitators for an extension of rights and educational opportunities to the slaves.¹³ On the contrary their method seems to have been to work unobtrusively and in accord with the established order, avoiding conflicts which would be likely to bring on opposition and destroy their usefulness in the field of their ministry.

A case in point is furnished by a letter from Reverend John Sougé on file in the Cathedral archives.¹⁴ Father

¹¹ By 1840 the slave families on Jesuit plantations had been disposed of; cf. Reynolds, *The Works of Right Rev. John England*, IV, 80.

¹² See also Hughes, Thomas, *History of the Society of Jesus*, Documents I, 387.

¹³ Greene, Rev. J. H., *St. Joseph's Advocate*, June, 1887, pp. 267-268. On p. 336 of the same issue appears a reprint from *San Francisco Vindicator*: "In the darkest days of slavery the priests boldly preached the doctrine of equality and ministered to the spiritual and bodily wants of black and white alike."

¹⁴ Cathedral Archives, 7T1.

Sougé, a French refugee priest, doing pastoral work at Medley's Neck, St. Mary's county in 1801, found himself accused of uttering unacceptable political views, agitating against slavery, inciting the slaves against their masters, and teaching the Negroes to sing. Though evidence to sustain the accusations, severally or in the aggregate, seems not to have been furnished, still Father Sougé's usefulness had come to an end in St. Mary's county; the next year he was laboring at St. Joseph's on the eastern shore.

Of attempts to inculcate a knowledge of reading and writing there appear to have been little or none.¹⁵ The candidates for the Sacraments were prepared through oral instruction; the prayers were taught by rote. The Commandments of God and the precepts of the Church were explained and learned by heart; and the duty and manner of assisting at Mass were taught in like manner.

While the burden of responsibility for instructing the ignorant rested, always, primarily on the pastors, yet from the earliest days a general goodwill on the part of some member of every household lifted much of its weight from the shoulders of the priests. On most plantations pious Catholic men and women made it a serious occupation to devote a part of Sunday to teaching the slaves, especially the children, the truths and practices of their religion.

Summary. Catholic concern for the Negro's welfare was restricted in the case of the slaves to oral instruction, to attempt to secure just treatment of them, and to provide for them the spiritual aids of the Church. In the District of Columbia, it seems, even the slave received some instruction in reading and writing in the early Catholic schools for the colored.

The main efforts at school work by Catholics were directed in the interests of the free Negroes.

¹⁵ Special Report of the Commissioner of Education 1871, p. 218.

CHAPTER IV

FIRST ATTEMPTS AT SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

Of efforts made by Catholics for the education of free Negroes, we draw our first evidence from a Special Report of the Commissioner of Education, printed in 1871. In that work there appears under the title Churches, Parochial and Sunday School, a lengthy notice of the educational work done under Catholic auspices in the District of Columbia. From that report copious abstracts will now be incorporated in this study as presenting most comprehensively the account of Catholic activities in behalf of free colored people.

No religious sect has, from the earliest history of this District, exhibited so true a Christian Spirit towards the colored people as the Catholic. In Georgetown, Rev. Leonard Neale, D. D., the archbishop, who resided there at an early period, and his brother, Rev. Francis Neale, the founder and first pastor of Holy Trinity Church, and Father Van Lommel, pastor of the same church in 1827, were all friends of the poor, showing no distinction on account of color. They established schools and gathered to them the ignorant and poor, both white and colored. Father Van Lommel himself taught a school in which the white and colored children were instructed together and gratuitously, in the house that Mrs. Commodore Decatur for many years afterwards occupied near the Georgetown College gate.

That the Catholic Church was true to the Christian doctrine of the unity of the human race and the equality of all mankind before the altar of worship, was shown in the labors of these representatives of its priesthood. In 1837, when the pro-slavery spirit was enjoying its greatest triumph in this country, Pope Gregory XVI issued his famous anti-slavery bull. He first quotes the bull of 1537 by Paul III, addressed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, and another, still more comprehensive, by Urban VIII, of 1636 to the collector Jurius, of the Apostolic Chamber of Portugal, 'most severely castigating, by name, those who presumed to subject either East or West Indians to slavery; to sell, buy, exchange, or give them away, to separate them from their wives and children, despoil them of their goods and property, to bring or transmit them to other places, or by any means deprive them of liberty, or retain them in slavery,' and proceeds to reprobate, by 'apostolical authority, all the above-described offences as utterly unworthy of the Christian name,' and, 'under the same authority, to rigidly prohibit and interdict all and every individual, whether ecclesiastical or laical, from presuming to defend that commerce in Negro slaves,' and to declare that, after mature deliberation in council of their Eminences, the Cardinals of the Holy Catholic Church, he was admonished 'to invoke in the Lord all Christians, of whatever condition, that none henceforth dare subject to slavery, unjustly persecute, or despoil of their goods, Indians, Negroes, or other classes of men, or be accessories to others, or furnish them aid or assistance in so doing.'

The Report goes on to detail the work of Father McElroy, then eighty-seven years old, who as a young Jesuit priest, assistant to Father De Theuz at Holy Trinity Church, established a Sunday School, in 1818, for the instruction of colored children.

"The school was held Sunday afternoon," continues the Report, "and was a large and interesting institution. It continued two hours each day, and the children were taught spelling, reading, writing and Christian doctrine. Young men and women of the first standing in Georgetown were the teachers, under the superintendence of Father McElroy, and the school was maintained with great efficiency for many years, especially during the service of Father McElroy, who was there five years, till he went to Frederick, Maryland, in 1822. There are many colored men and women still living in this District, now furrowed and gray with age, who learned to read and write in that school, including *some who were slaves* at the time." The transfer of Father McElroy to Frederick did not lessen interest in the education of the colored people on the part of that energetic priest. He continued his labors in their behalf; and his name appears among those who sent candidates to The Oblates in 1830.¹

The Catholic church was as free in all its privileges to the black worshiper as to the white, and in the sanctuary there was no black gallery. It was so in St. Patrick's Church, in Washington, under its founder, Father Matthew of blessed memory, who had the friendship of Jefferson and other distinguished public men of his time, and who recognized the poorest and most benighted Negro of his parish as inferior to none in all the privileges and duties of the church. The colored people in those days, in all the Catholic churches, not only knelt side by side with the highest personages, but the pews were also free to all. Father John Donelan, the founder of St. Matthew's Church, was equally Christian in his impartiality, and this has been the general treatment which the colored people have received from the Catholic church, the cases in which a priest has attempted to make a distinction having been very few and exceptional. The older and more intelligent colored people of the District will fully sustain this statement. The sisters of the convent in Georgetown have also trained many colored girls in the refined and solid attainments of a good education. The parochial instruction of the churches has always embraced all the children, and it is believed that St. Aloysius Church, the last that was built before the war, had not been in the least behind the earlier churches in this respect. Colored people have always held

¹ Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*, p. 44.

pews there on the same floor with the whites, and there is a large free female colored school in the parochial school building connected with this church, in which there is also a white female school numbering some 250 pupils. The St. Mary's Catholic Church at Alexandria in the earlier years manifested a similar Christian spirit, and has continued to do so. The colored people occupied the same floor with the white, and the free pews were occupied without discrimination of color.

When the colored people were excluded from all the Protestant churches of the District in the years of the mobs, the Catholic people stood firm, allowing no molestation of their colored worshipers. When the Sabbath schools for colored children were broken up in every Protestant church in the District, every Catholic church steadily retained its colored children under the usual Sunday instruction, and these schools embraced all ages, from the mere child to the hoary head. The above brief statements will explain why the colored Catholics here organized but one Catholic church, St. Martin's, though forming a considerable part of the colored population of the District.²

The first seminary in the District of Columbia for colored girls was established in Georgetown, in 1827, under the special auspices of Father Van Lommel, a benevolent and devout Catholic Priest, then pastor of the Holy Trinity Church, who not only gave this interesting enterprise his hand and his heart, but for several years himself taught a school of colored boys three days a week, near the Georgetown College gate, in a small frame house, which was afterwards famous as the residence of the broken-hearted widow of Commodore Decatur. This female seminary was under the care of Maria Becraft, who was the most remarkable colored young woman of her time in the District, and perhaps, of any time.³

Maria Becraft's grandmother, a free Negro, was employed in the household of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and enjoyed the advantages of an education and cultural training which enabled her to transmit to her children and grandchildren the best traditions of the white race. Maria Becraft was born in 1805, and from 1812 to 1820 attended the schools conducted by Henry Potter and by Mrs. Billings, after which she began teaching the colored children of her race. In 1831 she relinquished her school in Washington and joined the Oblate Sisters of Providence with whose fortunes her subsequent history is merged.⁴

These abstracts from the Special Report, recount the outstanding attempts to provide schools under Catholic auspices for the colored people in the District of Columbia during the first half of the nineteenth century. Mention is made

² Special Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1871, pp. 217-219.

³ Special Report, etc., pp. 204-205.

⁴ Special Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1871, pp. 204-205.

also of Irish schoolmasters who gave their time to the teaching of colored people in the District and elsewhere in Maryland during those same years; but, though they were themselves quite generally Catholics, there is no evidence that the schools in which they taught could be regarded as Catholic enterprises.

According to the census of 1800 there were 19,587 free Negroes in Maryland against 8,043 shown by the census of 1790, an increase of 143.52 per cent for ten years. In 1810 there were 33,927, an increase of 73.21 per cent, and in 1820 there were 39,730, on increase of 17.10 per cent. Contributing much to the increase of free colored people in Maryland in the decade between 1790 and 1800, and again in that between 1800 and 1810 was the influx of refugees from the French possessions in the West Indies. The turbulence and ruthless massacres that beset San Domingo in the years following the French Revolution sent the inhabitants of that unhappy island into exile by the thousands, even as late as the first decade of the nineteenth century. Of these exiles a large number were Negroes, free, educated, and in many instances possessed of means. Possibly it is to their arrival in Baltimore that we must look to account for those two items "143.52 per cent increase" and "73.21 per cent increase" shown in the census returns of free Negroes in Maryland of that time. Furthermore, they were Catholics, all of them, and soon made their presence felt in Catholic circles.

Prior to the advent of the French Negroes in Baltimore there does not appear to have been any special and distinct attention given to the free Negroes of the Catholic faith. They formed no separate congregations; their presence in the churches at services was taken as a matter of course; and they themselves felt as free and privileged, as far as spiritual needs were concerned, as their white brethren.⁵ Just how numerous the free Catholic Negroes were, nobody knows.

⁵ Spalding, *The Life of The Most Reverend M. J. Spalding, D. D.*, p. 338; cf. Gillard, *The Catholic Church and the American Negro*, pp. 213-215.

But with the coming of the West Indian colored people, the old order of ministering to the colored, slave and free, in common with the whites, proved inadequate. These people appeared in numbers where Mass was to be said; they clamored in a strange tongue for a fulfilment of their spiritual needs. Their children had to be baptized and prepared for the Sacraments; and they themselves had to go to Confession. For this spiritual succor they turned to priests who knew their language and customs, and could sympathize with them in their affliction and isolation. The Sulpicians, French exiles, too, many of them, became at once their shepherds; and in the little chapel below in the basement of St. Mary's Seminary, ministered to their spiritual wants.

On Sunday afternoons, as far back as 1796, the children gathered in that basement chapel to learn their catechism in French, the language of their sires, taught to them by Sulpicians who were destined afterwards to become noted churchmen and eminent divines. First among these preceptors in point of time was Reverend William V. Dubourg, later made Bishop of New Orleans; following him in the work was Reverend John M. Tessier, whose name is associated with all great movements in Catholic church work for the next third of a century. The third eminent Sulpician to take up the work in behalf of the free colored man was Rev. Hector Joubert, alluded to earlier in this paper. With Abbé Joubert's appearance in this connection happened three things: the period of separate and individual efforts began to fade out of the scene, and the incipient growth of definite, permanent organization began to show in outline; and, concomitant with this transition in structure, came also a widening of objectives. The catechism class had evolved into a complete school for the colored child; and the basement chapel of St. Mary's Seminary had been forsaken for a more parish-like arrangement on Richmond Street. But the story of these changes and their consequences must be told as of another era.⁶

⁶ Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years: Part I*, "M. Joubert's Diary tells the story."

As for the free Negro in the rural districts of Maryland, his opportunities for intellectual enlargement during the time under consideration were small, regardless of what his religious affiliations were. There was first that feeling of racial distinction, which time has not yet dissipated, but which in those days set up an almost impassable barrier to the communication of learning from the white to the colored man. In the next place the mere presence of a freedman in a slave community was regarded as dangerous to the established order,⁷ so much, that laws were at times in force against their entrance into the state at all,⁸ and even in some instances against their movement from one part of the state to another. "The free blacks, then (1821) growing into quite a class of the community, were looked on with growing disfavor," says Brackett. This unwelcome attitude toward the free Negro was also the basis of the emigration campaigns and of the scheme for the colonization of Liberia.⁹

But these were not the only limitations set to his progress. The general disadvantages of rural life, which have not yet been fully removed, were there in greater number and bulk. No system of roads existed worthy of the name; and such as they were, they were passable only in dry seasons, and then fit only for the slow ox-driven vehicles. For that reason the custom was for the traveler to make his journeys in the saddle. Besides, in those days there was no school system, either public or parochial. The nearest thing that approached anything like public provision for the education of free Negroes was a stipulation in the legislative Act of 1818, which empowered the Orphans' Court of each county to require that children of free Negroes bound out as apprentices should be taught to read and write, or that in lieu thereof a sum of money not greater than thirty dollars should be given in addition of the ordinary freedom dues.¹⁰

In Baltimore city the free Negroes themselves had at-

⁷ Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 177-182.

⁹ Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland*, pp. 176, 178, 181; also pp. 66 ff. and p. 110. Cf. Fox, E. S., *American Colonization Society*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰ Brackett, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

tempted to conduct schools between 1812 and 1835. These were private enterprises, but some of them were sponsored by certain Protestant denominations. The most frequently mentioned one of these schools was The African Free School.¹¹ In Annapolis, early in the century, a free colored woman kept a little school attended by some of the young white children. In the District, about the same time, the public feeling was so favorable that both colored and white assembled together under the same teacher.¹²

Catholic concern for the spiritual and educational welfare of the colored persons of free status was tied up with regular parochial activities during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. It was only with the arrival of the French-speaking free Negroes that there arose a need for ministering to the class of freedmen as a separate unit. That arrangement took shape in Baltimore city; outside in the counties of Maryland the old order continued to prevail. For religious services there were no separate churches or meeting places for the free colored or slaves. They participated in the same sacraments and listened to the same sermons as the whites. Their presence was required at Mass with the same insistence upon obligation as was the case for their white fellow Catholics. The same care was taken by their pastors in the instruction of their children as was observed in that of the white children. In no instance was there exclusion from the churches because of their color.

On the other hand, it is true that in accordance with a social convention, the colored worshipers in most Catholic Churches occupied a place by themselves and were not allowed to mix indiscriminately with the whites at divine services. Until within a few years ago there still remained in the church at Newtown a glass partition, cutting off the Negro section of the church from that of the whites. The writer has seen instances of where the white and colored worshipers occupied different parts of the church at the same services.

¹¹ Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, pp. 140-141.

¹² Special Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1871, p. 195.

In the rural parts of Maryland separate parishes were erected for the colored in comparatively late years. The earliest, St. Peter Claver's in St. Mary's County, appeared in the lists of the Catholic Directory for the first time in 1913.

For the first thirty years of the last century there were no parish schools outside of Baltimore and Washington. Nor were there public schools. Because of the sporadic character of school work in general in the counties during those years there is scarcely any kind of record available on elementary education before the regular establishment of the state school system in 1865. In the period prior to 1830 there is evidence, however, that there was considerable training along lines designated today as vocational education.¹³

Summary. When the educational efforts of the Catholic Church for the colored people of the first three decades of the nineteenth century are evaluated it is evident that—

(1) Catholic efforts to teach the Negro were based on the desire to convey to him more effectively Catholic doctrines on faith and morals;

(2) These efforts were restricted at first to pastoral initiative, were unorganized, and were merged with regular parish duties common to whites and colored;

(3) By 1818, separate school arrangements were made in at least one place; and that school continued for nearly twenty years with success proportionate to the enthusiasm of the several sponsors, but was not permanent;

(4) In 1828 another attempt to bring school advantages to the colored occurred, and met with enduring success because more definite organization characterized it. There was provision made for recruitment of a staff of teachers, as well as for ownership and possession of property not attached to white parishes. The colored people themselves became more actively concerned in education.

¹³ Cathedral Archives, 6D5 and 1R2, Vide ante, p. 19; cf. Woodson, *The Negro in Our History*, p. 248; also DuBois, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, 20-21.

CHAPTER V

THE PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION

Until 1828 all special attempts to provide school opportunities for the colored people, rested solely on individual efforts with little about them of an enduring nature. The causes operating at the time to set on foot a transitional movement, which led to organized effort, were revolutions and disorders which brought a large number of fugitives from San Domingo to Baltimore.

We are told,¹ they came to Baltimore by the thousand during the next twenty years. The precise number it is impossible to ascertain: Bureau of Immigration has no official records of the influx of foreign population to this country prior to 1820; and, due to two fires, the records of the Baltimore custom house are scant for that time, and valueless as aid to determine immigration to that port. There exists in very good condition, however, an alphabetical list of arrivals and clearances for the year 1800 and part of the year 1801 from which it can be gathered that ninety-two craft with a tonnage averaging a little more than 107 tons plied between Baltimore and San Dominican ports in that period of a year and a half.² Mr. Thalheimer, deputy collector of the port of Baltimore, expressed the opinion that vessels of such tonnage in those days were equipped to carry from fifteen to twenty passengers, and not much more. With those figures as data, the possible influx of fugitives from San Domingo may have ranged from 1,380 to 1,840 for the year and a half beginning with January 1800. These calculations at best are of course only speculative, and merely serve to check the numbers advanced from other sources. Furthermore, they fail to take into consideration the number of San Domingo refugees who were transshipped from Cuban ports, of whom we are told there were many.

¹ Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*, p. 4; cf. Andrews, Matthew Page, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-405.

² Records of the Baltimore Custom house for 1800-1801.

Of the San Dominican exiles the majority were white. The colored fugitives, however, were educated, conversant with the French tongue, and possessed some means; all belonged to the Catholic faith. To obtain the consolations of their religion they presented themselves to the French priests of Baltimore, the Sulpicians at St. Mary's Seminary on Paca Street. Their unfamiliarity with the English language made them a special problem, the solving of which, as we have already seen, led to the institution of the first school for the colored in Baltimore; and, with this establishment, their presence and influence may be set down as the cause of permanent organization of Catholic effort for Negro education in Maryland.

But the condition of the French Negro changed. His fortune diminished, and he and his wife were constrained to become wage-earners, most of the time away from home. His children were without schooling, illiterate, though familiar in a way with both French and English. For them, by 1820, English was the language of everyday use, and their lessons in catechism were given in that tongue.³ Here arose a perplexity for the French priest to whom the children came for instruction. His assignments in the little textbook were unlearned for the very simple reason that his pupils could not read, and there was nobody at home to teach them. When, then, Abbé Joubert faced the situation in September, 1827, he resolved to remedy it by the only means possible; namely, by the establishment of a school. But there stood in the way two obstacles, the lack of money and the need of teachers. The story of how these two obstacles were surmounted is a fascinating one, told day by day as it happened, by Abbé Joubert himself, and preserved to this day in the fluent French of his diary.⁴ Encouraged by the approbation of the Archbishop, he set to work and established first the teaching staff and then rented a building and opened a school.

³ Sherwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 7, "M. Joubert's Diary Tells the Story" (chapter heading).

⁴ The Diary of Reverend Hector Nicholas Joubert, preserved in the archives of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, East Chase and Forrest Streets, Baltimore.

The establishment of that unique enterprise was to eventuate in setting up a stable, organized school and a body of teachers destined to perpetuate the institution. It marks the beginning of organized effort in behalf of Negro education among Catholics. This school was named St. Frances', and opened in 1828.

The Catholic parochial school is a phenomenon in American school life which made its appearance with semblance of system only at a much later date in history than the period when the Oblates were established and their school opened in the Hoffman house, St. Mary's Court. The first parochial school in Baltimore, and for that matter the first in Maryland, was St. Patrick's near Fell's Point, founded in 1815 by Father Moranville, who died in 1824.⁵ The second one was the colored school on Richmond Street. The chapel in the Richmond Street convent, open to the public, assumed a quasi-parochial status.⁶ Hence, it is correct to claim for St. Frances' Academy on Richmond Street the distinction of being the second parochial school in Maryland, and the first for their race in the United States.

Solicitude for the spiritual care of the French colored Catholics in Baltimore created the pivotal problem from which evolved the ultimate school and parish organization quite generally followed today. To the French element in the Catholic population of Baltimore, at that time, is due the credit of inaugurating a school system for the Catholic Negro, and at the same time, of giving to the movement a trend which is followed to this day.

The mind which conceived the origin of that great movement and made it a workable plan as well as a successful educational policy, was that of Abbé Hector Nicholas Joubert.

In an exhaustive account of the Schools of the Colored Population in the District of Columbia, prepared by Mr. M. B. Goodwin, there appears an extended notice of St. Frances'

⁵ Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 90.

⁶ Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*, p. 81 ff.

Academy for Colored Girls, the Richmond Street school identified with the labours just recounted of Abbé Joubert. We quote:

In this connection it is not inappropriate to give some account of this school, which has done so valuable a work for the education of the colored people of this District and the country at large. For many years it was the only colored school within the reach of the colored people of this District, in which anything was attempted beyond the rough primary training of the promiscuous school, and there are women who still live in this District and elsewhere, whose well-bred families owe their refinements largely to the culture which the mothers a quarter of a century ago, or more, received in this female seminary. It was there that many of the first well-trained colored teachers were educated for the work in this capital.

St. Frances' Academy for colored girls was founded in connection with the Oblate Sisters of Providence Convent, in Baltimore, June 5, 1829, under the hearty approbation of the most Rev. James Whitfield, D.D., the Archbishop of Baltimore at that time, and receiving the sanction of the Holy See, October 2, 1831. The convent originated with the French Fathers, who came to Baltimore from San Domingo as refugees, in the time of the revolution in that island in the latter years of last century. There were many colored Catholic refugees who came to Baltimore during the period, and the French Fathers soon opened schools there for the benefit of the refugees and other colored people. The colored women who formed the original society which founded the convent and seminary, were from San Domingo, though they had some of them, certainly, been educated in France. The schools which preceded the organization of the convent were greatly favored by Most Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, D.D., who was a French Father, and Archbishop of Baltimore from 1817 to 1828, Archbishop Whitfield being his successor. The Sisters of Providence is the name of a religious society of colored women who renounce the world to consecrate themselves to the Christian education of colored girls. The following extract from the announcement which, under the caption of 'Prospectus of a School for Colored Girls under the direction of the Sisters of Providence,' appeared in the columns of the daily National Intelligencer, October 25, 1831, shows the spirit in which the school originated, and at the same time shadows forth the predominating ideas pertaining to the province of the race at that period. The prospectus says:

'The object of this institute is one of great importance, greater, indeed, than might at first appear to those who would only glance at the advantages which it is calculated to directly impart to the leading portion of the human race and through it to society at large. In fact, these girls will either become mothers of families or household servants. In the first case the solid virtues, the religious and moral principles which they may have acquired in this school, will be carefully transferred as a legacy to their children. Instances of the happy influence which the example of virtuous parents has on the remotest lineage in this humble and naturally dutiful class of society are numerous. As to such as are to be employed as servants, they will be intrusted with domestic concerns and the care of young children. How important then it will be that these girls shall have imbibed religious principles and have been trained up in habits of modesty, honesty, and integrity.'

It is impossible to conceive of language fuller of profound and mournful import than are these humble, timid words of this little band of colored women, who thus made known the exalted scheme to which they had given themselves. Why this tone of apology for embarking in as noble a service as ever entered into the plans of a company of women upon the face of the earth, the attempt to lift the veil of moral and intellectual darkness which they saw everywhere resting like death upon their sex and race?

The sisters purchased a three-story brick building on Richmond Street, in which they started their work, but have since, in the admirable success of their enterprise, built large and ample structures, and their school was never in more efficient operation than at the present time. From the first it has been through all its years, almost forty in number, a well appointed female seminary, amply supplied with cultivated and capable teachers of a refined and useful education, including all that is usually taught in well regulated female seminaries. The number of Sisters connected with the convent and Seminary has for very many years ranged from 30 to 35. The academy has always been well patronized, comprising girls from every part of the South as well before as since the war. The number the past year was some 170, of which about forty-five were boarders, a large number being from Washington and Georgetown. Attached to the convent, also, is a free school for girls and an orphan asylum, and until last year (1868) they had for many years maintained also a school for boys. In 1862 some of these Sisters established a female seminary in Philadelphia, which has been very successful. There is also a colored female school in Washington under the care and instruction of teachers formerly attached to this sisterhood. For nearly a quarter of a century this seminary at Baltimore was the school in which the most of the colored girls of this District, who were so fortunate as to receive any of the refinements of school culture, resorted for their training from the founding of the convent down to 1862.⁷

Non-Catholic children were admitted to this school.

The course of studies in this Baltimore school appeared in an advertisement in 1834.⁸ We quote:

Besides the care bestowed on their religious education, the girls of color are taught English, French, Cyphering and Writing, Sewing in all its branches, Embroidery, Washing and Ironing.

The items of expense borne by the parents of pupils were as follows:

<i>Boarders</i>	
Boarding and tuition, monthly, payable in advance . . .	\$4.00
Fuel for the winter quarter	1.00
Half-board and tuition, monthly, payable in advance . . .	2.00
Fuel for the winter quarter	.50
<i>Day Scholars</i>	
Tuition, quarterly, payable in advance	2.00
Fuel for the winter quarter	.50
For the use of books, day scholars pay, annually . . .	.37

⁷ Special Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1871, pp. 205-206.

⁸ The U. S. Cath. Almanac, etc., for the year 1834, p. 125.

Boarders pay an extra charge for books and stationery, the care of the sick, washing and mending—unless parents choose to attend to these objects in person—the whole may be furnished by the school for the sum of \$24.00 annually—but in case of protracted sickness the doctor's bill is added.

The pupils are to be provided, at their entrance, with bed and bedding—they may be furnished by the Sisters for \$8.00.⁹

The following regulations were announced in the same advertisement:

The pupils whose families reside in the city are permitted to dine with them on the first Sunday of every month, and to remain until five o'clock in the winter, and until seven in the summer. This permission, however, may be refused by way of punishment.

Special permission is required to sleep out of school, and is granted only for particular reasons.

The vacation commences on the 10th of August after the distribution of premiums, and ends on the first Monday of September.

During the vacation the boarders are allowed to remain at school, and no deduction will be made, should they spend it with their parents.¹⁰

The Curriculum

The subjects taught in the schools for colored children in Baltimore prior to 1867 can be enumerated in part with certainty. Those that were certainly taught are English, French, writing, reading, spelling, arithmetic, music, guitar and piano, sewing, embroidery, washing and ironing, drawing, and some kinds of art work.

The course in the boys' schools included reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, drawing, and the English language.

The first printed curriculum appeared in 1867.

The Academy on Richmond Street had many pupils from places outside of Baltimore, indeed from several of the southern states. These girls from the South were in most instances daughters of wealthy planters, the Negro blood in their veins barring them from the schools for whites.¹¹

The progress of the children in school was measured by examinations, which were conducted by outsiders. We read that on August 4, 1835, Messrs. Deydier and Villeplet of the Seminary examined the children in English, French, Arithmetic, Catechism and Writing. "These gentlemen left very

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹¹ From data drawn from the archives of the Oblates, Baltimore.

pleased with the progress made by the children in general.”¹² Professors from St. Mary’s Seminary continued to exercise a supervisory interest in the school.

The following summarizes the facts pertinent to this study found in the foregoing chapter:—

(1) Definite permanent school organization and provision for a constant supply of teachers appeared in 1829;

(2) The enterprise received approbation from the Archbishop, and may thenceforth be regarded as a diocesan affair and not merely the undertaking or venture of one person;

(3) The school thus established provided instruction in primary and elementary subjects, and some of secondary level, besides special courses in art, music, plain and fancy sewing, and plain housework;

(4) The school was the only Catholic educational institution that gave colored girls opportunity to acquire a useful and cultural training solely through teachers of their own race.

(5) The school was well patronized, met with abiding success, and became a center from which radiated further reachings toward extension of learning among the colored people.

¹² *Ibid.*, The Chronicles.

CHAPTER VI

EPISCOPAL INTEREST AND THE REVIVAL OF SCHOOL WORK

The first provincial council of Catholic bishops met in Baltimore, October 1829. In this assembly were discussed questions of vital concern to those upon whom rested the responsibility for Catholic church affairs in the United States. Their decisions, after approval by the Holy See, were published in the form of thirty-eight decrees, the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth of which bore on the erection of Catholic Schools to save children, especially those of the poor, from perversion, and on the preparation of suitable school books.¹ Negro education was held equally in mind with that of the whites; and the bishops of that council made a personal inspection of Abbé Joubert's institute on George Street, expressed approval of the venture, and held out every encouragement to the founder and his associates.²

A second provincial council was assembled in Baltimore, October 20-27, 1833, and among other transactions, reaffirmed the pronouncement of the previous council on the necessity for separate Catholic schools. That the welfare of Catholic Negroes engaged the attention of the bishops is all too obvious. It was just that year, and only a few months before the council took up its deliberations, that "the condition of Catholic Negroes who had gone from Maryland to Liberia in Africa was also a subject of correspondence between the authority at Rome and the Archbishop (of Baltimore). This led to a mission from the United States."³ "The Holy Father was asked (by the bishops of the council) to commit the care of the Indian tribes and of the Negroes in Liberia to the Society of Jesus."⁴

The pastoral letter issued by the bishops of this council to the clergy and laity of the United States is noteworthy for utterances on the necessity of education. "The edu-

¹ Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, III, 416-417.

² Sherwood, *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*, pp. 39-42.

³ Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 432.

⁴ *Ibid.*, III, p. 433.

cation of the rising generation," says the pastoral letter, "is, beloved brethren, a subject of the first importance; and we have accordingly at all times used our best efforts to provide, as far as our means would permit, not only ecclesiastical seminaries to insure a succession in our priesthood and its extension; but we have moreover sought to create colleges and schools in which your children, whether male or female, might have the best opportunities of literature and science, united to a strict protection of their morals and the best safeguards of their faith."

Catholic educational efforts in behalf of the Negroes formed at the period under consideration a definite element of organization in the unitary system of education that was evolving under the direction of the Hierarchy. The Bishops had assumed control; their position had been made clear by the decrees of two provincial councils; they were for a Catholic system, and intended to establish it; and schools for Negroes thenceforth formed an integral part of that system. Their attitude was reaffirmed in subsequent councils both provincial and plenary.

But the 'thirties of the nineteenth century were not at best years of full and plenty for the Catholics whether clerical or lay; and the means to carry into effect the educational scheme that lay close to their hearts, were meager indeed. With the onset of the panic of 1837 many plans were shot to pieces, especially those which concerned the Negro's welfare.⁵ The Archbishop of Baltimore at that time, Most Reverend Samuel Eccleston, who had formulated plans for intensive work for the welfare of the Negroes of his Diocese, was constrained to relinquish their immediate execution because of the hard times and the scarcity of priests. "Far from being able to do what I could wish for the salvation of the unfortunate Negroes, I find myself

⁵ On page 75 of *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1840* there appears a notice of three Catholic benevolent societies for colored persons, the "Tobias Society," established in 1828, and "Mutual Relief Societies for Colored People in Baltimore." The purpose of these associations was to provide relief in time of sickness and to insure decent Christian burial in case of death. These societies were maintained solely by the colored Catholics.

unable to meet the wants of thousands of whites, who, equally deprived of the help of religion, feel their spiritual dereliction all the more keenly.”⁶

Despite those handicaps the Archbishop stimulated the opening of schools;⁷ and though well-nigh discouraged as to hopes for Negro education he had the wisdom to commit the conduct of that enterprise to a man who could infuse new life into the work.

With the death of Abbé Joubert, November 5, 1843, the Catholic school for the colored on Richmond Street lost a guiding spirit that was not replaced until the appointment of Reverend Thaddeus Anwander, C.S.S.R. to that post in 1847. Meanwhile the work had declined; the attendance had fallen off in the school; and the institution seemed moribund. With Father Anwander's arrival new signs of life began to appear; and under his able direction there was soon a complete rejuvenation. Baltimore's first Catholic school for colored children was saved; and Reverend Thaddeus Anwander is therefore revered as its second founder.⁸ Attendance at the girls' school on Richmond Street steadily rose till there were 135 in attendance in 1853, of whom thirty were boarders, not to mention several orphans whom the Oblates, as part of their service to their race, always sheltered and fed and taught. In response to the demand for a boys' school, the Oblates opened St. Frances' Male School in a substantial two-story brick building, in the rear of the church, erected in 1852, under the supervision of Father Anwander, to meet the want of a good Catholic School for colored boys and to provide a hall in which to hold meetings of the various parish societies.⁹ The Oblates conducted this Boys' Pay School until July, 1868. Thereafter the teacher was Mr. "Billy" Williams of Frederick county.

This school extended to boys the educational advantages

⁶ Shea, *op. cit.*, III, 447.

⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 24; cf. Catholic Encyclopedia, V, 269.

⁸ Chronicles of the Oblates of Providence; cf. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-125.

⁹ Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 122; cf. The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1854, p. 72.

of regular class work already enjoyed by the colored girls for more than twenty-two years. In this connection the following items clipped from *The Colored Harvest* for April-May, 1932, are of special interest, not only in regard to the boys' school, but also for some additional light which they shed upon the informal tutorial methods of conveying learning to the slaves of a generation or two earlier.

Francis Roberts, a little old man of Baltimore, has died. . . . As a little boy Francis was sent to the Academy of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, then located on Richmond Street, and at that time the principal source of education for Negroes in Baltimore. The Oblate Sisters, the first community of colored Sisters founded in the United States, had been teaching the Negro children of Baltimore for a quarter of a century at that time.

Speaking of his family, Mr. Roberts said that his paternal grandmother was a slave. His earliest education was received from the tutor who came to teach the master's children at the big house and who also stopped at the slave cabin to teach the youngsters of the slaves. When they were old enough each was bound out to learn a trade. His mother, who was from the Carroll estate, was also educated at the Oblates, and it was through her that his father was converted to the Catholic Faith.

His father's sister, Louise, was also educated at the Oblate Convent; in fact the Sisters still have some of the needlework which she did while a pupil there. Sister Baptista, stationed at the Guardian Angel's Home, Leavenworth, Kansas, where she has been for sixty-two years, is a sister to Mr. Roberts.

Mr. Roberts witnessed the mob riot of Baltimore in 1861, at the disembarkation of the Sixth Massachusetts' Regiment at Pratt Street. Viewing the scene from the shelter of a wooden Indian, behind which he was hiding, he saw the first victim of the War, one of the Yankee soldiers, shot down when some one in the mob gave the order to fire.

When General Ben Butler, the pride of Massachusetts, arrived in the city with his regiment, Francis followed the soldiers into Fort McHenry. Before he had realized it the gates of the fort had closed behind him. Unable to give the countersign when challenged, he was held for investigation. A boyish drawing of a school house which he had in his possession made him an object of suspicion.

One interesting remembrance Mr. Roberts had was the fact that the second contingent of troops commanded by General Butler had in it a number of colored soldiers.¹⁰

A bit curious indeed is the circumstance that no mention is made of public opposition to the measures taken by Catholics for the formal education of the Negroes in opening schools for that purpose between 1829 and 1857, especially as there was a high pitched feeling of hostility to Catholics prevailing in those years, fanned to furious verbal intensity

¹⁰ The Colored Harvest, April-May, 1932, pp. 13-14.

as it was in Baltimore by the editorial utterances of Col. Duff Green of the *Baltimore Pilot and Transcript*, not to mention others elsewhere in the country.¹¹ That display of public temper taken in connection with the fact that the Negroes were quite generally a despised people, solicitude for whose intellectual and social advancement was likely at any moment to be construed in the public mind as a pernicious activity fraught with all kinds of possible evil consequences, is truly mystifying when placed side by side with the unhampered peaceful development of the two Catholic Negro schools in Baltimore.

The story is a different one, however, when the time came to open a third school at St. Joseph's parish in South Baltimore in 1857. Attacks were made upon the convent, and the inmates were forced to leave; riotous demonstrations in that neighborhood on election day, and the ugly spirit which survived, made it necessary to delay the opening of school till calm was restored.

Shortly before the time when St. Joseph's School began, another school was opened for colored children at Fell's Point. Thus by 1858 there were four Catholic schools for the colored in undisturbed operation in Baltimore city.¹²

A general upset of peaceful pursuits is almost invariably the attendant circumstance of war; and perhaps nowhere are disturbing symptoms sooner manifested than in the field of education. With the onset of the Civil War the Catholic Negro Schools were soon to feel the pressure and strain of economic alterations. Money became scarce, and living expenses grew correspondingly high: accordingly both St. Joseph's School and St. Michael's at Fell's Point had to be

¹¹ Cf. Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IV, 69-103. In the issue of the *Baltimore Pilot and Transcript* for Sept. 3, 1840, Greene wrote: "The Protestant community have been warned, as well from the pulpit as from the press, that the money expended in getting up schools, as well as that used in sending pauper and other Catholic population to this country, is part of a system which, looking to the nature of our institutions, contemplates a great religious as well as civil revolution, by means of imported Catholic votes." Quoted from Reynolds, *op. cit.*, IV, 70-71.

¹² Sherwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-129; cf. Corrigan, Rt. Rev. O. B., *History for the Catholic Schools, Archdiocese of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1924), 55 and following.

closed before the end of 1865. The latter reopened, however, and continued under the name of St. Benedict's until 1885.¹³

Organized effort to educate the Negro according to Catholic ideals had been confined to Baltimore city, and it was there and in Washington that special schools for the colored had been opened. In the counties, on the other hand, Negro education under Catholic auspices was limping along with the old crutches of "laissez faire" or pretty much the old "set-up," Sunday schools, instruction classes, and informal teaching in a tutorial fashion. The official yearbooks of those times, "The United States Catholic Almanac" and "The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac," contain no mention of anything resembling definite separate school organization for colored children whether slave or free. The Negro was for all that far from being neglected in the way of spiritual and moral enlightenment. There was, however, no movement to set up a separate formal school organization in his behalf. As a partial explanation comes first the financial difficulty, particularly acute after the panics of 1837 and 1854.

This encumbrance of debt as a deterrent to educational ventures deemed not only useful, but even necessary, is echoed in the plaint of Archbishop Eccleston contained in his letter to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in 1838. After stating the extent of his jurisdiction, for at that time it embraced Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia, the population, 70,000, 10,000 and 9,000 respectively, and his clergy, seventy-four, he said:

The slaves present a vast and rich harvest to the apostolic laborer. I do not believe that there is in this country, without excepting the Indians, a class of men among whom it is possible to do more good. But far from being able to do what I would desire for the salvation of the unhappy Negroes, I see myself unable to meet the wants of the thousands of whites who, equally deprived of the succors of religion, feel more keenly their spiritual abandonment.¹⁴

¹³ Corrigan, Rt. Rev. O. B., *History of the Catholic Schools, Archdiocese of Baltimore*, pp. 54 and following.

¹⁴ DeCoursey-Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States*, III, 116; Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, III, 447.

It will be noticed too that a clergy numbering only seventy-four for a population of nearly 100,000 flung over the vast expanse from the Chesapeake Bay to the Ohio River in one direction and from the Mason and Dixon Line to North Carolina in the other, was indeed too paltry a force to carry on grand enterprises.

Mention has been made of the fact that Catholic Negroes shared without discrimination the general spiritual advantages offered by the Church to her members, such as right to participate in the Sacraments. This was conditioned, however, by a sufficient preparation on the part of both white and black, and as that preparation entailed a certain amount of learning, the Negroes, therefore, who professed the Catholic faith, were *ipso facto* subjected to teaching processes to form in their minds true conceptions of faith and morals. Such teaching went on whether there were schools or not. Old parish registers are mute witnesses of that fact.

Up to this point this study has been concerned chiefly with movements for Negro education under Catholic auspices in Maryland and the District of Columbia. It has been shown that prior to 1790 whatever was done for the enlightenment of the colored people, was done not as a distinct Catholic enterprise, sponsored by church authorities. Nothing that bore the least resemblance to a formal parochial classroom set-up can be traced. The communication of learning in such subjects as reading, writing, and arithmetic was effected, wherever such is recorded, by generous slaveowners, members of their households or others disposed to be helpful to the colored child. The method was tutorial. With clever Negroes there was growth in learning by contacts and employments. The Catholic clergy did indeed concern themselves with teaching orally the doctrines of the Church, the principles of morality, and the knowledge needed for the reception of the sacraments.

It is likewise manifest from what has been said, that episcopal direction could come only after that date, and that even thereafter until the second decade of the nineteenth

century little change in the procedure occurred. By 1818, however, a school was opened by the Jesuits at Georgetown, the first of its kind until Abbé Joubert began his school in Baltimore in 1828. Thus in 1830 there were two schools for the colored, one in Baltimore and one in Washington. The Baltimore school became a permanent institution with an organized group of teachers. From that time on the work assumed not only an organized form, but also met with great encouragement from the hierarchy.

TABLE II

SCHOOLS FOR COLORED PEOPLE OPENED UNDER CATHOLIC AUSPICES
BETWEEN 1818 AND 1860

Date	Place	By whom	Remarks
1818	Georgetown, D. C.	The Jesuits	Discontinued in the early 'thirties
1828	Baltimore	Abbé Joubert	Founded the Oblates, a teaching order of colored nuns
1829	Baltimore	The Oblates of Providence	Opened St. Frances' School, which still continues as St. Frances' Academy
1852	Baltimore	The Oblates	Boys' School closed in 1868
1857	Baltimore Federal Hill	The Oblates	Discontinued in 1864
1858	Baltimore Fell's Point	The Oblates	Closed in 1864. Re-opened and finally discontinued in 1885

These, then, seem to be the outstanding features thus far developed, for the period of individual initiative, as we have chosen to call it, and for the period of transition to organized effort.

Between the date of Joubert's foundation and 1852, no evidence has been found that any other Catholic schools for the colored were attempted, nor is there evidence that the school at Georgetown continued much longer than the early 'thirties. No formal school work for the Negro was done in the rural parishes.

In Washington, there was a school for colored children

connected with St. Matthew's parish, and maintained by the St. Vincent de Paul Society for the colored.¹⁵ Not much could be found out about it, as to date and teachers and curriculum. Mention is also made of a colored school for Catholic children on Clay Street, Baltimore, but no data came to light concerning it.

Moreover, financial stringency, together with decrease of attendance, following the Civil War, brought about the closing of three of the Baltimore schools for Catholic colored children.

¹⁵ Special Report, etc., pp. 214-218; cf. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, p. 137.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND PLENARY COUNCIL ON NEGRO EDUCATION FURTHER INCREASE OF SCHOOLS

The ecclesiastical head of the See of Baltimore from 1864 to 1872 was The Most Reverend Martin John Spalding, a man of sympathy for the colored people.

"I think," he wrote early in 1866, when summoning the Prelates of the United States to the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, "that it is our urgent duty to discuss the future status of the Negro. Four millions of these unfortunate beings are thrown on our charity, and they silently but eloquently appeal to us for help. We have a golden opportunity to reap a harvest of souls, which, neglected, may not return."¹

This was primarily a solicitude for souls; it was likewise a wish for education as a means to gain souls.²

Towards the end of the year 1866 the members of the Second Plenary Council assembled in Baltimore, under the presidency of the Archbishop who was also the papal legate for the occasion. In the Seventh Session matters touching on the Negro's welfare and education were considered. The members began by amending enactments, to fit them to the changed status of the Negro and to provide for a wider application in terms of religious and moral education. Next they formulated an appeal directed to the Bishops in Europe beseeching them to assist, too, in the conversion of the Negro by sending to America young ecclesiastics who, once they learned the English language, would be able to devote themselves to so great a ministry. This was the attempt of the Council to augment the priesthood in the South.³ But the Council did not rest satisfied with a mere call for aid from abroad, but committed itself to a plan for establishing a religious order or congregation of men, both

¹ Spalding, J. L., *The Life of the Most Reverend M. J. Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore*, p. 299.

² *Ibid.*, p. 338.

³ See Appendix III.

priests and lay brothers, to devote themselves exclusively to the Negro, his welfare and education. It was considered that a community of nuns should likewise be founded for special work among colored girls and women.⁴

In the spring of 1867 the Archbishop issued a pastoral letter⁵ based on the decisions and decrees of the Council held a few months earlier. In this letter he urges the pastors of his archdiocese to put forth every effort of enlightened zeal to secure to them (the Negroes) the blessings of Christian instruction. He desires that separate schools be established for them; "since," he says, "experience proves how difficult it is to impart religious instructions to those who cannot read."

"We must say," he continues, "to the credit of our colored children, that they have been invariably liberal and generous, in proportion to their means, in aiding in the establishment of schools and churches for their benefit. This has been abundantly proved in the case of a church in Washington, and of six or seven colored schools which have been recently established in the archdiocese. The pastors who will determine to labor zealously in their behalf will always find them willing cooperators."⁶

In 1869 the Tenth Provincial Council of Baltimore assembled. Of the *Quaestiones* submitted for discussion on that occasion the seventeenth was:

Quid in specie amplius statuendum, ut Nigrorum saluti hac in Provincia efficacius provideatur? Tit. X, Chap. IV, et Num. 491.⁷

At the Second Public Session held April 28, 1869 the matter of Negro welfare was discussed, and the Council committed itself to a policy of providing churches exclusively for the use of colored people, and schools for their children. Where the church could not be erected at once, schools at

⁴ Cathedral Archives, 39A. D4, p. 40, Animadversiones Theologorum Septimae Congregationis circa Titulos X et XI, Second Plenary Council.

⁵ Acta et Decreta, etc., Caput IV, p. 256.

⁶ Spalding, J. L., *op. cit.*, pp. 338-339.

⁷ Cathedral Archives, 39A. N1.

least should be established: "ubi istius modi Ecclesiae haberi non possunt, hebdomadales scholas confraternitatesque instituant Pastores."

Shortly after the adjournment of the Council the Most Reverend Archbishop issued a pastoral letter to the higher clergy of the Province in which he embodied the decrees of that assembly on the affairs pertaining to the Negro, and exhorted them to carry out energetically the prescriptions of the Second Plenary Council in that regard. The letter in substance was as follows:

This they will do by establishing for them missions, churches and schools for their special use wherever possible, by taking up collections also for their spiritual interests, particularly in the wealthier dioceses. And we call upon the superiors of religious orders and congregations in their zeal for the salvation of souls to appoint certain missionaries to carry on this so necessary work.⁸

"The fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore," resumes Doctor Spalding in the work cited, "invite, in the name of God's mercy, all priests who may be able to do so to devote themselves wholly to this great work (the evangelization and education of the Negro) and they beg of the Superiors of religious orders to place some of their members at the disposal of the Bishops, that they may assign them to the mission of evangelizing the liberated slaves of the Southern States."⁹

"The chief difficulty which prevented the success of this work was the dearth of priests, especially in those states which had large Negro populations."¹⁰

Unfortunately, there is not available any reliable statistics on the educational work done in general for the colored people within the jurisdiction of the Archbishops of Baltimore for the period of fourteen years between the First (1852) and Second (1866) Plenary Councils. The best that can be found is an occasional reference in the archives at

⁸ Cathedral Archives, 39A. N2.

⁹ Con. Plen. Secund., No. 488. Vide Spalding, J. L., *op. cit.*, p. 340.

¹⁰ Spalding, J. L., *op. cit.*, p. 340.

the Cathedral, showing that interest in Negro schools persisted, and that at times attempts were made to provide separate school buildings for the colored. For instance, in Archbishop Spalding's Register of Letters occurs the following under date of Nov. 11, 1868: "I wrote to Rev. W. Jordan about building a school for Negroes." Altogether, then, school activities appear to have been interwoven with regular parish affairs in the diocesan reports of the times.

That such should be the case ought not to be surprising when it is recalled that the office of diocesan superintendent of schools did not come into existence till long after that time, and that publicity in connection with the internal affairs of the Church did not take the form of a definite policy until comparatively late years. Hence the demand for statistical exhibits did not then exist.

With a sense of that deficiency, Rev. J. H. Green wrote in 1883:

Who will enlighten us on the work and workers in this special and rugged corner of the vineyard, prior to our coming? How gladly would we 'give Caesar his due,' and how becoming would the credits look, passing to the hands of strange and interested successors? All we can be sure of is that the deepest interest in the spiritual well-being of the colored people was manifested by individual ecclesiastics, both religious and secular, for many long years anterior to our advent. Here and now were we to enter into particulars and give names, we would only show our ignorance and run the risk of wounding susceptibilities as much, perhaps, by omission as by assertion, more especially to the honored dead.¹¹

"If one so near to that period," comments Doctor Gillard on the foregoing passage, "felt the inadequacy of the facts at hand for an accurate enumeration of activities, the difficulties are not lessened by the passage of more than fifty years."¹²

"Many noble efforts on the part of zealous priests and sisters," continues Father Greene, "in the remote past to impart some instruction, secular as well as religious, to poor colored children are here entitled to first credit. For more than half a century (this was written in 1883) the Oblate nuns of the colored convent have kept up a good school for girls; but fitful and temporary was every effort to do as much for the other sex, a significant fact—illustrative of the great difference in respect to power and permanency between institutions and individuals!"

But how inadequate any one school, or two, for a great city like Baltimore. Even at the present writing, with the convent school for girls removed to the very extremity of the city on the north, and our

¹¹ Greene, J. H., An Editorial, American Supplement to St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate, No. 1, 1883.

¹² Gillard, J. T., *op. cit.*, p. 38.

schools for both sexes so much more central, we must admit that this great need is far from being half supplied.

For seven or eight years no other school house than the basement of the church was available, unfit departments for both sexes, without any compensation outside for physical exercise except the public streets. But how is it now? The fine three-story brick building, for many years occupied by the Christian Brothers for the male school of the Cathedral parish, has just changed hands and is now the property by purchase of our Society for Colored Schools! How convenient too, fronting the presbytery and contiguous to the mother church! Six paid teachers are employed in the male, female, and infant departments, each with a story to itself. One of the Fathers is in daily attendance, exercising constant inspection. . . . The city has eighteen public schools, all colored. . . . With very little help from loyal Catholics we could have a day-school in every quarter of the city. . . . On the east already existing, is our small male and female school at Fell's Point, the nucleus of a much larger foundation with even moderate assistance.¹⁸

Father Greene's disquisition thus presents a survey of Catholic school work for the colored as it was in 1883 in the city of Baltimore. There were three schools: an elementary mixed school at Fell's Point; a parochial primary and grammar school at St. Francis Xavier's; and St. Frances' Academy, with primary and grammar grades, and a secondary course characteristic of the era of academy curricula. Besides, at St. Frances' there had always been sheltered a family of orphans for whom separate school facilities were provided. Taking into account the orphans' school as a separate unit, there were four Catholic schools for Negroes in Baltimore by 1883.

By 1860 all the Catholic schools for colored children in Baltimore were taught by Oblate Sisters. There were four such schools. St. Frances' Academy, St. Joseph's School, the boys' school connected with St. Alphonsus' Church, and the school at Fell's Point. Mention is made of a colored school at Federal Hill, but that is probably the same as St. Joseph's mentioned already.

In 1860 the office of ecclesiastical superior of the Oblate Sisters, which up to that time had been administered by a member of the Redemptorists, was transferred to a Jesuit, Reverend Peter Miller, pastor of the colored parish of St.

¹⁸ Greene, J. H., Editorial comment, *St. Joseph's Advocate*, I, No. 1, 1883.

Francis Xavier. The assumption of that office constituted Father Miller sponsor for the Catholic program of Negro education in Baltimore city for the next ten years. The Civil War, as we have seen, wrought changes of two kinds so far as the effects upon that program were concerned. Scarcity of money was the first; and that caused three of the four schools to close their doors. The second change was the necessity of caring for a large number of orphan children thrown upon the streets without prospects of food or lodging. The case of a colored boy whose frozen feet had to be amputated, led to the establishment of an orphans' home under the care of the Oblates. Thenceforth St. Frances' Academy sheltered the orphan as well as the more fortunate members of their race. But the fortunates were few; indeed so few by comparison were they that Father Miller caused a free school to be opened and taught by the Oblates in 1865. Thus it came about that St. Frances' was the only school for colored children in Baltimore in 1865. Thus, too, it came about that St. Frances' had four schools under one roof: the academy for children whose parents could pay the tuition fee, the boys' pay school, a free school for children whose parents could pay nothing, and the orphans' school. Funds for the support of this institution were raised by collections, concerts, entertainments, and by begging.¹⁴

Tuition charges in the academy were:

Board and tuition, a quarter of eleven weeks . . .	\$30.00
Piano, a quarter	10.00
Embroidery in gold and silver and chenille . . .	5.00
Painting	10.00
Wax flowers	15.00
Wax fruit	25.00

After 1868 the pupils wore uniforms. The winter uniform consisted of a purple merino dress with a large cape of the same material and a black straw hat with purple ribbon in winter. In summer the uniform consisted of a blue delaine skirt and white waist, white sacque, white straw hat trimmed

¹⁴ Cf. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136, 145.

with blue ribbon. Besides, each boarder had to have three black alpaca aprons for school.

The Curriculum in 1866-1890

"In addition to their religious instruction, the pupils are taught the English and French languages, Arithmetic, Geography, History, English, Grammar, Orthography, Writing, Sewing in all its branches, Embroidery in Cotton, Chenille, or Gold Tapestry, Tufted Work, Bead Work, Lace Embroidery, Wax Flowers and Fruits, Music and Painting also if desired."¹⁵

The list of premiums awarded at the commencement exercise, July 8, 1867, specifies the following subjects for which awards were made:

Christian Doctrine; English; spelling; music; history, and geography; Tapestry; embroidery and braiding; sewing.

On the same occasion premiums were awarded to the boys for reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, Christian doctrine. On that occasion George Woods received first premiums for History, Geography, and Arithmetic. This course was probably the same as had been given previously in that Boys' School, and in the defunct schools at St. Joseph's and at Fell's Point.

Additional subjects appear in the Academy curriculum at subsequent dates, as follows:¹⁶

- 1868 Marking, Tufted Work, Wax Work, Mending and Darning, Domestic Economy.
- 1869 Silk Embroidery, Housekeeping.
That year the first premium for excellence in English was awarded to Miss Adelaide Bodson.
- 1873 Algebra, Composition Writing, Drawing, Natural Philosophy, Rosin Fruit, Grecian and Transfer Painting, Vocal Music, Elementary Drawing.
- 1874 Lace Embroidery, Tarlton Work, Flowers.
- 1876 Dramatics, Latin.
- 1878 Harp, Crewel Work, Sacred History.
- 1879 Dressmaking.
- 1880 Hemstitching.

¹⁵ Catalogue of Pupils of St. Frances' Academy for Colored Girls, Under the Direction of the Sisters of Providence, For the Academic Year of 1866-7 (Baltimore, John Murphy & Co., 1867).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, premium lists for years 1868-1881.

- 1881 Ancient and Modern History.
- 1885 Outlining and Cotton Embroidery.
- 1886 Japanese Embroidery.
- 1888 Map Drawing.
- 1889 Geometry, Bookkeeping, Spanish, Roslyn Work.
 "Pupils can be taught to make French Confectionery, Pastry,
 Wine, Fine Cake, etc." It does not appear that any of the
 pupils elected that course, and no further mention of it is
 made in the subsequent numbers of the Prospectus.¹⁷

The Pay School for Boys was relinquished by the Oblates in July, 1868, and was continued, probably in the basement of St. Francis Xavier's Church on Calvert Street. At any rate the teacher was a Mr. "Billy" Williams of Frederick county. The enrolment at the Pay School for Boys in 1867 was twenty-six; at the Academy for the same year it was one hundred and eleven girls.

Many of these girls came from other states than Maryland and the District. Their homes are listed in the catalogues of those years as located in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, California, Arizona, Mississippi, Missouri, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Ohio, Florida, Virginia, and Canada.

School regulations underwent changes. The Prospectus of 1866 says: "There is no uniform in dress, but all the pupils are expected to be neatly and modestly dressed as becomes school girls." But the Prospectus for 1868 has the following regulation: "To prevent love of dress, a uniform dress for Sundays and Holydays will henceforth be adopted."

Boarders at the Academy were not allowed to spend the Christmas and Easter holidays at home; they could remain at the Academy during the summer vacation, but if they went home, a reduction of charges was made.

The commencement exercises for the years between 1866 and 1890 were elaborate affairs, very long, and withal largely attended.

¹⁷ This list of school subjects was compiled from the lists of premiums awarded at St. Frances' Academy between the years 1867 and 1892. The fact that premiums were awarded to successful pupils is good proof that the subjects were actually taught in that school. For example, in 1880 a premium was awarded to Miss Alice Huss for Silk Embroidery and in 1890 a gold medal was awarded to Miss Leona Sanford, Macon, Ga., for English Composition.

In 1863 the Oblates' first venture in school work outside of Baltimore occurred when a colony of Sisters went to Philadelphia, and took charge of a school in that city. But the foundation was not a permanent one; here again financial support failed. In 1866 they began school work in New Orleans, but poverty there too made it impossible to continue, and the Sisters returned to Baltimore in 1872. In 1880, however, a permanent foundation was made in St. Louis; and in 1888 another was made at Leavenworth, Kansas. The supply of teachers for those two schools have always come from the Baltimore house.

A school was founded at St. Augustine's, Washington, in 1874, primary and elementary at first; but by 1883 subjects of a secondary grade were taught: rhetoric, algebra, book-keeping.¹⁸ In the beginning this school was called St. Martin's.

The earliest teacher was an Oblate, Sister Seraphina, who had previously been in charge of the colored school at Fell's Point, Baltimore.

In 1892, the Oblates became the teachers in a new parochial school in St. Cyprian's parish in Washington.

Summary. The contribution which the facts catalogued in the proceeding pages make to the establishment of this thesis, is

(1) That by their concerted action in the Second Plenary Council the Bishops of the United States took up the problem of Negro welfare and education as a work to be prosecuted by them as a part of their episcopal duties. By 1866, Negro education under Catholic auspices had advanced to the magnitude of a major concern in the mind of the Hierarchy, and plans were formulated for the advancement of the project. The period when all was left to individual initiative had come to a close. The purpose was religious: the salvation of souls.

(2) That an immediate concrete execution of the plans

¹⁸ Greene, J. H., *St. Joseph's Advocate*, I, No. 4, 1883, p. 21.

of the Hierarchy was delayed because of lack of means and men to carry the plan through;

(3) That assistance from Europe was counted on to aid in the work, but that outside of a group from England in 1871 no great augmentation of forces or means came from abroad;

(4) That in Maryland and in the District there was recovery of ground lost during the Civil War period and extension of work in new places;

(5) That as educational institutions the academy and parochial schools for colored children in Baltimore showed advancement in school buildings and playground facilities, as well as in teaching and in courses of study;

(6) That the Baltimore foundation of teaching sisters had grown strong enough and numerous enough to furnish teaching staffs to schools outside of Maryland.

CHAPTER VIII

NEW GROUPS TAKE UP THE WORK

By 1884, the Mill Hill Josephites had been laboring among the Negroes for thirteen years. That Society was founded by Reverend Herbert Vaughan, later Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster, and had had assigned to it by the Holy See special missionary duties among the Negroes in the United States in 1871. Their contacts with the Negro population during the more than dozen years that elapsed since the inception of their work served to fit them eminently as spokesmen for the Negro and his needs. A series of articles flowed from their pens which are now a rich source of information on the religious and educational status of the Negro for the first thirty years of his freedom.

Their plea is for education; in it lies the only hope for the colored man's elevation. To win the Negro to the Church they must begin with the young. Schools under Catholic auspices, with Catholic Negro teachers where possible, must be established. Their program included a native colored clergy, which they hoped to create. To put their cause before the Catholic reading public they had recourse to publicity, and issued one of the earliest missionary magazines—*St. Joseph's Advocate*, later also *The Colored Harvest*. Altogether their work was both educative and educational; educative in that they aroused a widespread interest in the cause of the colored people and awakened a consciousness of obligation on the part of their fellow Catholics of white skin to come to the succor of their less fortunate colored brethren. Their literary activity was the first attempt to break down prejudice and narrow parochialism, and to wipe away injustice and discrimination.¹

How well their policy accorded with the mind of those directing diocesan affairs at that time may be gathered from a letter of endorsement addressed by Cardinal Gibbons to

¹ Butsch, Joseph, S. S. J., *The Society of St. Joseph or Josephite Fathers, The Catholic Church in the United States*, I, 408-418.

Reverend J. H. Greene, the editor of *St. Joseph's Advocate*. The Cardinal wrote in part:

In the interests of the former (Negro missions in this country), your claim is undeniable, that the first Catholic paper of this country to make these interests its own, deserves, in the providence of God, to be credited with much of our present progress as respects churches and schools for the colored people. I notice, too, how strongly you plead for their *material* rights — an advocacy which some may mistake for political-party bias, but I believe it is nothing of the kind, as such pleading may be dictated by the purest charity, *following the example of the Church of Christ in every age, standing on the natural law.*²

Of their educational work a more complete account will appear in later pages of this study.

As has been stated above, the Mill Hill Josephites made education of the Negro the very keystone of their missionary work among the colored people from the beginning in 1871. Though the first parishes to which they were assigned as pastors, St. Francis Xavier's in Baltimore, and St. Augustine's in Washington, had already been organized before their arrival, only the former parish had had a school.³ In general their first care was for the establishment of schools. The children were gathered for instruction, and provisions were made to establish regular class work. In Louisville, Ky., to which city they went in 1872, they took over St. Augustine's parish, and found it possible to open a school at once with the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth as teachers. Further expansion of their missionary work brought them to Charleston, S. C., in 1875, to Washington, D. C., in 1881, and Richmond, Va., in 1884. In each instance the establishment of a parochial school enlisted their immediate interest, and in most cases took precedence over church enlargement. From the Richmond center ten missions were soon attended in the outlying parts of Virginia. At Norfolk they established in 1894 one of the most efficient and flourishing elementary schools for colored children in the state.⁴

² *St. Joseph's Advocate*, a quarterly, formerly edited and published by the Fathers of St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society of the Sacred Heart, Baltimore, Maryland; Dutto, Rev. L. A., *The Negroes in Mississippi*, *The Catholic World*, XLVI, 577, February, 1888.

³ Sherwood, p. 149.

⁴ Butsch, *op. cit.*, I, 415.

Previous to 1887, the educational work of the Josephites in the Negro's behalf was restricted to the elementary field and in connection with regular parish action. In 1888, however, they embarked on the course which led to higher studies, and the opening of St. Joseph's Seminary in Baltimore. The next year Epiphany Apostolic College was opened in Walbrook to provide secondary and collegiate work. These two institutions were intended to provide the necessary training for the candidates to the priesthood who wished to become identified with their society. Colored boys were admitted to the college, and given a chance to prove their mettle. Properly qualified⁵ young men of color were admitted to the seminary. This move, then, was the Josephites' attempt to create a native Negro clergy.⁶

In 1889 the Josephites began work for the Negroes in Delaware. At Clayton in that state they established a parish, founded a school, and in addition assumed the care of the colored orphan boys of the Wilmington diocese. Out of this charge has grown St. Joseph's Industrial School situated on a large farm thirty-six miles south of Wilmington. Courses of a vocational nature are given in agricultural pursuits and useful trades to poor orphan boys.⁷

In 1892, for reasons of efficiency, the Josephites on the missions in America separated from the parent center at Mill Hill, London, and thenceforth functioned as an independent unit without, however, altering their purpose or diminishing their zeal for colored man's welfare.⁸ Abating nothing of the previously adopted educational program, the American Josephites have carried on for the last forty years in such wise as to deserve the title of being a major force in the education of the Negro. Their central house of administration is in Baltimore, and their seminary training is carried on at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., though

⁵ "for the canons prescribe certain requisites for the licit reception of orders, e. g., moral probity, proper age, legitimate birth, knowledge proportionate to each order, integrity of body, mind, will, and faith."—Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, 170-171. A copy of the college curriculum of that time is not available.

⁶ Butsch, *op. cit.*, I, 417.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 418.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 415.

until recently (1930) it centered also in Baltimore; they are, therefore, a Maryland institution, with the fountain heads of inspiration and life in Baltimore and Washington. Their work, though in major part carried on in places far distant from Maryland soil, is distinctly a Maryland product.⁹

Writes the Reverend Doctor John T. Gillard,

When the Josephite Fathers first arrived at Baltimore in 1871, they found a church, a convent, a convent academy or boarding school, and a parochial school for the exclusive use of the colored people. Yet, in all this noble work there was no concerted action, no definite plan: a Sulpician has the immortal credit of founding the convent, a Redemptorist built a house and founded a school for boys, a secular priest opened one for girls, a Jesuit had purchased the parochial church. As death, removal, sickness, change of place, or other causes cut off the man, it stopped the work: a lay teacher went to Rome and returned a priest, only to find that his school on Clay Street had fallen; a Know-nothing mob attacked another in South Baltimore; a third ceased when the devoted religious, Father Greisen, C. SS. R., was transferred to New Orleans. Individuals came and went, and with their going went another venture in Negro education.¹⁰

The contribution of the Mill Hill Josephites to Negro education, as recounted in the pages which precede, derives its significance for this study from the facts enumerated below.

(1) With them appeared the first use of publicity in behalf of Catholic Negro welfare and education. The official organ of the Society was *The Saint Joseph's Advocate*. Later *The Colored Harvest* was founded, and eventually superseded *The Advocate*. Besides through their writings, published in various Catholic journals and newspapers, they presented the cause of Catholic education for the Negro before a wide circle of Catholic readers.

(2) Their policy of establishing an elementary school for Catholic children as the first important work in the development of their parishes, promoted the growth of the general scheme of Negro education as enunciated in the Second and Third Plenary Councils.

⁹ From data furnished by the administrative office of the Josephites, Baltimore, and from Butsch, *op. cit.*, I, 408-418.

¹⁰ Gillard, John T., *The Catholic Church and the American Negro*, p. 140.

(3) Their establishing a college in 1889, to which colored boys were admitted, marks the earliest attempt to provide collegiate training for Negro young men of Catholic faith.

(4) Their attempt to create a colored priesthood, though attended with scant numerical results, was a step towards providing Negro leaders for Catholics of their own race.

In the issue of January 7, 1882, *The Ave Maria*, a Catholic weekly, published the following item:

Four sisters of the Franciscan Order lately left Liverpool to take charge of a Foundling Asylum for colored children in Baltimore. The Sisters will also aid in teaching the colored children. It is expected that other Sisters of the same Order will soon come to Baltimore.

With this brief notice was announced the coming of the first group of white nuns to devote themselves exclusively to the welfare of the colored people in the United States. Their work in Baltimore began when they took charge of St. Elizabeth's Home for colored orphans in a house located on St. Paul Street. Next they were installed as teachers in the parochial school attached to St. Francis Xavier's Church on Calvert Street. St. Elizabeth's, twice enlarged on the old site, was subsequently moved to Maryland Avenue and Twenty-third Street, where the Sisters had previously opened a novitiate in 1895. At St. Elizabeth's colored children are cared for from the infant a few hours old to well-grown girls. Male children are harbored, cared for, and taught till they reach an age when they can be placed out or transferred to an institution especially for boys. The girls receive common-school training, and guidance in domestic arts, such as housework, laundry-work, sewing, cooking, and the like until they are fitted to maintain themselves by useful service. Besides these activities the Sisters also do welfare work for the colored people, such as alms-deeds, visits to the poor in their own homes. In the field of elementary school work they have been eminently successful wherever they have undertaken it. In some cases their school work laid the foundation for a subsequent parish. From 1889 until 1894 they worked at school and welfare service for the colored people in Nor-

folk, Va., without either parish or priest. Their high schools are well attended, efficient, and have won a high rating with local and state school authorities.¹¹

In the State of Maryland the Franciscans have two houses—

St. Francis' Orphanage	
2226 Maryland Avenue	
Baltimore, Maryland	
Grades 1 to 9	85 girls
	4 teachers

St. Elizabeth's Home	
Chestnut Hill Avenue	
Baltimore, Maryland	
(Foundling Home and Orphanage)	152 girls
	50 boys
	5 teachers

The Franciscans have no High Schools in Maryland.

The other schools in which Franciscan Sisters teach are—

Church of the Resurrection (school)	
282 W. 151st Street	
Borough of Manhattan	
New York City	175 children—grades
	and High School
	4 teachers

St. Joseph's School	
Norfolk, Virginia	299 boys—grades
	35 High School
	371 girls—grades
	50 High School
	—
	755
	10 teachers

St. Joseph's School	
Richmond, Virginia	507 children—grades
	and High School
	11 teachers

St. Thomas' School	
Wilmington, N. C.	270 pupils—grades
	and High School
	6 teachers ¹²

The importance of the facts set forth in the preceding paragraphs lies in the support they give to the central argument presented in this study, namely, that educational work in the Negro's behalf under Catholic auspices grew from individual

¹¹ The Catholic Church in the United States (New York, The Catholic Editing Company, 1914), II, 203-205.

¹² Data furnished from headquarters, Baltimore, through the courtesy of Mother M. Imelda, O. S. F.

efforts to an organized school system. To that end the following facts are stressed:

(1) These English Franciscan nuns made Negro educational and welfare work their exclusive occupation;

(2) Their entrance into the work was made in Baltimore, where they established their headquarters;

(3) Parochial school work and welfare work for the orphan and destitute children were their contribution to the advancement of Catholic educational work within the State;

(4) Their participation in larger fields of educational work outside of Maryland was due to the numerical growth and teacher preparation made in this State.

Writes Doctor Gillard,

In 1890, the Sisters of St. Francis (called Franciscans of Glen Riddle) came from Philadelphia and began work among the Negroes by taking over the school of St. Peter Claver, Baltimore, Md. At that time a class was held in the basement of the church. The next work undertaken was that of St. Joseph's Home for Colored Orphan Boys, Wilmington, Del., an industrial school in charge of a Josephite Father. A few Sisters began there in 1892 with a small number of boys. Later buildings were erected, the number of orphans increased, and the community of Sisters grew. Since then the Sisters of St. Francis have shown their zeal by undertaking many new schools and other works of charity for the Negroes.¹³

St. Peter Claver's in Baltimore is the only one taught by the Franciscans of Glen Riddle in Maryland. At its opening in 1890 it had three teachers and an enrolment of over two hundred children, the majority of whom were non-Catholics who came from the Public Schools of that neighborhood.

The number increased yearly which necessitated more teachers. Through conversions among the pupils and their parents, there is at the present time (1933) an enrolment of five hundred and seventy-five, 285 boys and 290 girls, very few non-Catholics, and nine teachers. Owing to overcrowded conditions and lack of more room, only Catholic children are enrolled at present.

The pupils of this school go to the Public High School for their secondary work. Plans are pending to have a Central

¹³ Gillard, John T., *op. cit.*, pp. 144-145.

High School at St. Catherine's, to which it is expected the graduates of St. Peter Claver's will go for high school work.¹⁴

Summary. The work of Negro education under Catholic auspices received further augmentation by the advent of this third group of teachers, the Franciscans of Glen Riddle. Thus by 1890 the teaching forces were supplied by the Josephites for the college at Walbrook, by the Oblates for their academy and parochial schools both within and outside the State, by the English Franciscans for parochial school and welfare work in Baltimore and in Virginia, by the Franciscans of Glen Riddle for a parochial school in Baltimore.

¹⁴ Data furnished by Sister M. Osmunda, O. S. F., of St. Peter Claver's Convent.

CHAPTER IX

NEW AGENCIES AND THEIR EFFECTS

The growth of Catholic school work for colored people has become accelerated to such a degree throughout the entire country since 1900 that it seems fitting to give special notice to what has been done in the last thirty years. This upward trend is due to several causes, some of which had their inception previous to 1900 as contributing agencies, but no one of which could alone have effected the results. Conjointly, however, they were capable of achieving great things. The first manifestation of awakened interest in a wide sense in the Negro's welfare falls in with a missionary spirit that was arousing Catholics to action at that time. The early part of the period we are now considering saw the birth of great missionary enterprises for carrying the light of the gospel to foreign lands, especially those of the Far East. Societies of men and communities of women undertook the work with alacrity; and their efforts were supported by the Catholic laity with generous contributions of money. With this widening of interest in the welfare of benighted peoples abroad there soon appeared a vigorous concern for the betterment of the less favored peoples of our own country. Thus, then, was thought turned to the Negro and his needs.

A second influence that also operated in the direction of increased educational opportunities for the colored child arose from the Negroes themselves. Catholic Negroes no less than their fellows of another faith became conscious of the power of learning. Many of them had attained rank as scholars, and as a consequence found themselves thrust into the positions of leadership among their own. The Catholic colored people themselves now began to assume some part of the burden of helping their own race to reach higher levels; and as a means they chose education.

A third circumstance that may be thought of as a contributing cause to the deeper interest now manifest for Catholic education of the colored child, is the setting up of ecclesiastical machinery more directly actuated by the bishops in their

corporate capacity than by individuals of the episcopacy acting independently. This consolidation of interest and action has undoubtedly effected much toward the distribution of the burden, not to mention the impetus that arises from unanimity alone. The Catholic education of colored children has come to be looked upon in considerable measure as a diocesan matter—if not national in scope—rather than the sole concern of the pastor of the parish which harbors the Negro population. The instruments through which this consolidation was effected were the several missionary boards to be noticed later.

Still another explanation of this growth lies in varied forces in operation in the preceding twenty-five years. The machinery had been set up:¹ new groups of teachers had been created;² old established teaching orders entered the new field;³ and all were bringing to the work a new spirit and new methods. In a word, then, the sowing of the last quarter of the nineteenth century was to bear fruits in the first quarter of the twentieth.

Apart from the foregoing influences there has been a general widening of interest in popular education, a uniform growth in school systems, and a unanimous demand for the extension of educational advantages to all classes of people. The public mind has been set upon a democratic ideal, an equal opportunity for all to get an education, and an education for every opportunity. This ideal has become part and parcel of the public mind since 1910, and its cogency has been considerable in formulating the Catholic system of late years. It is but a logical sequence of that attitude to broaden and deepen the opportunities for the colored man's offspring. Combined with the distinctly religious motives which animated Catholics at all times in the work of education, this general temper of the public mind operated powerfully in quickening the conscience to deal generously with the Negro in the matter of education. Here again is discernible a force

¹ The Commission for Catholic Missions among Colored People and Indians.

² E. g., Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament; cf. Gillard, p. 44.

³ Ante, pp. 69-70.

which accounts in some degree for heightened interest in Negro education.

In the earlier pages of this study a decree of the Third Plenary Council, held in 1884, was given. The last paragraph of the translation given there authorized the appointment of a committee to handle the affairs of Negro education to which the Council had committed itself. That committee was soon after appointed, and thenceforth bore the name "The Commission for Catholic Missions Among the Colored People and Indians." That was in 1888.

This Commission consisted of a Board of Directors composed of three members of the Hierarchy, assisted by a secretary. The funds at its disposal were the moneys raised by an annual collection prescribed in the same decree. This collection was to be taken up in all the Catholic churches in the United States on the first Sunday of Lent. The first collection yielded \$74,558.30. This sum, and all money subsequently raised by the annual collection, was distributed as follows: "The money which is derived from this collection in the case of dioceses wherein the Society for the Propagation of the Faith already exists is to be expended by the Commission in the interest of the missions among the Indians and Negroes."⁴ This Commission still functions, with the central office in Washington, D. C.

In 1906, the Archbishops of the country met under the presidency of Cardinal Gibbons to devise a project for raising additional funds to support Negro missions in the South. This action was taken at the direct request of the pope, His Holiness, Pius X. The annual collection referred to above was inadequate to raise sufficient money. When a distribution was made, individual missions received as little as \$100.00 and some got nothing at all.⁵

As an outcome of the deliberations of the Archbishops in 1906, Cardinal Gibbons was enabled to launch the Catholic Board for Mission Work Among Colored People in 1907, and have it incorporated under the laws of the State of Ten-

⁴ *Decreta*, Tit. VIII, Chap. II; cf. Gillard, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁵ Gillard, *op. cit.*, p. 45; cf. Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 421.

nessee. The purpose of this Board is "To create and foster the missionary spirit among Catholics and others in favor of the colored people; to preach on this subject in churches and elsewhere; to distribute literature and form associations in aid of the work."⁶

The first Board was composed of three archbishops, three bishops, with Cardinal Gibbons as president. The first Director of this newly established board was Reverend John Burke, later Rt. Rev. Monsignor, of New York City. The national headquarters were opened in New York City. The Board is merely a collecting agency, and in no wise connected with any missionary group. Its disbursements, approximating \$75,000 a year, go towards the maintenance of teachers, lay and religious, in schools which cannot afford to pay salaries. In addition the Board finances the summer school maintained at New Orleans, La., for Sisters of the Holy Family, the colored community of nuns founded there in 1842.⁷

The American Board for Catholic Missions is another disbursing agency from which moneys come to the Catholic Negro missions and schools when, and only when, a bishop petitions for it.⁸

In all, then, there are three boards. The first distributes the moneys raised by the annual collection ordered by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Part of that sum, however, must go to the Indians. The second board distributes its own funds. These moneys go entirely for work among the Negroes. The third board handles the revenue accruing through the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Of that sum only part goes annually to the colored missions and schools.

One of the earliest reports issued by the first board mentioned above, namely, the Commission for Catholic Missions among the Colored People and Indians, contained whatever statistics were available in 1888. This Board estimated the colored Catholic population in the United States at that time

⁶ The Official Catholic Year Book, 1928, pp. 398, 402.

⁷ Gillard, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

as a total of 138,213 souls. Cardinal Gibbons, four years later, placed the colored Catholic population for the whole country at 160,000. The report of the Board for the same year, 1892, placed the number at 152,692 with data from three large cities missing. Cincinnati, St. Louis, and San Antonio, Texas, failed to make returns. The number of colored people who are Catholics in the United States today is approximately 204,000.⁹

Summary. The establishment of a school is considered an essential part of parish organization. In the work of extending Catholic missions among the colored people, the erection and maintenance of a school has commonly taken precedence over the erection of a church. The revenues that accrue in such ventures find their earliest application in promoting education. The significance of the three Boards to the promotion of education among the Negroes consists in rendering possible wider school facilities for colored children, and in succoring schools hard pressed for means to continue. The Boards, too, serve as bonds to secure a closer cooperation among the members of the Hierarchy. The solidarity thus engendered has made it possible to attack the problems affecting the Negro's education and welfare as something of wider concern than the parish boundaries.

The influences that carried over from missionary enthusiasm show themselves in school enterprises undertaken by new groups of religious teachers who have recently staffed schools for Negro children. The attitude of the colored people toward parochial schools is favorable. This is attested by their patronage and by their generous financial support. The large schools are financed entirely by the colored people themselves.

⁹ Gillard, John T., *The Catholic Church and the American Negro*, p. 1.

CHAPTER X

OUTSIDE INFLUENCES AND INTERNAL GROWTH

Though the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament have but one center of activity within the limits of the See of Baltimore, their influence and assistance in the cause of Catholic work for the Negro's education have been so substantial and continuous throughout the State and the District of Columbia that certain phases of their work have valid claim to a place in this study.

Scarcely an enterprise of Catholic origin for the uplift of colored people in Maryland since their foundation in 1889 has not been aided financially by them, or by their foundress, Mother Katharine. Apart from that, their work elsewhere has itself had indirect consequences of immeasurable worth for Catholic School progress in the Negro's interest here in Maryland. Because of those secondary influences and the continuance of them to the present day, the account of that body of Catholic educators will be given as one of the outstanding influences that have become conspicuous since 1900.

Among the religious women on the Negro missions the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People¹ are carrying out the largest program. From their mother house, St. Elizabeth's Convent, Cornwells Heights, Pa., they radiate into missionary activities north, east, south, west. They teach the little children, instruct adults, visit the sick.

The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament teach upwards of 12,000 Negro boys and girls, in parochial schools and in high schools in the cities of the North and South. The response of the Negro to their efforts has brought about a marked improvement in his condition.²

In all there is a total of twenty-nine centers from which work is carried on by this group of teachers for the welfare of the Negro and for his education. Of these establishments one is a first class college, New Unit of Xavier University, New Orleans, the only Catholic College exclusively for colored boys and girls in the United States; one is an industrial school, Cornwells Heights, Pa., another a training school for teachers at Rock Castle, Va.; several are high schools, usually

¹ The Nation's Tenth Man (Cornwells Heights, Pa., 1932).

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

supplementary to parochial schools; and the rest are elementary schools. In addition the motherhouse at Cornwells Heights shelters also the novitiate and teachers' training school for members of the Sisterhood.³

Xavier University had its foundation in Xavier High School, which was established in 1915. In 1917 a normal department was opened, which in 1925 was expanded into a teachers' college. At the same time the college of liberal arts was opened and a premedical course of study was added to the college curriculum. In September, 1927, the school of pharmacy was opened.⁴

Xavier University is located on a site the ground for which alone cost \$113,460. Three buildings are already constructed, and three more are planned. The New Unit, as it is called, is fully equipped, and was opened on September 15, 1932, with an enrolment of 287. The Teachers' College has assumed full status, and its graduates are numbered among the successful members of the staff at Cardinal Gibbons Institute, Ridge, Maryland.

Besides the missionary center in Washington the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament have other claims for gratitude and consideration from the friends of the Negro in Maryland. Many of their graduates have elected to carry on welfare and educational work in the State; and many of the administrative officers of the Society of Oblates of Providence are products of schools conducted by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.⁵ No more helpful friends of the Oblates are to be found than these same women, who have spared neither expense nor energy to convey to the colored nuns opportunities for educational advancement here in the State, and to open to them means for professional progress offered beyond the borders of Maryland.⁶ Despite their averseness to publicity in connection with their own benefactions and those of their venerated foundress, the fact cannot be concealed that

³ Data furnished from the archives of the Motherhouse, Cornwells Heights, Pa.

⁴ Klein, Arthur J., *Survey of Negro Colleges and Universities* (Washington, Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 7, 1928), pp. 381-390.

⁵ Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

⁶ These statements are based on the writer's own knowledge of the facts.

without their aid Negro education in Maryland and the District of Columbia would have been painfully retarded.

Though the house of these Sisters in Washington is mainly devoted to the work of the Catholic Indian Bureau, the Sisters teach Sunday School of the Church of the Holy Redeemer and conduct social clubs for the Colored Graduates of their school at Rock Castle, Virginia.⁷

St. Francis de Sales' Institute was opened in 1899 by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. "The primary aim of this school is to prepare girls for the teaching profession." A standard high school course is provided; and the completion of it with a satisfactory grade of scholarship is required of every aspirant to the teaching profession before beginning normal school training. An eighth grade class is conducted to span the gap of deficiency in pupils who come from parts of the country where only seven years of elementary school work exists. The school itself is recognized and accredited by the Board of Education of the State of Virginia; and the staff of teachers is a splendidly trained and representative body, holding their degrees from outstanding universities. Inasmuch as a number of the graduates are at present occupied in school work within the State and the District, some mention of that institution is pertinent to this paper.

The school is completely equipped with laboratories, library, and recreational opportunities. Combined with the literary courses of the curriculum are courses in Home Economics and Domestic Art, and Home Nursing. The basic idea underlying these courses is to fit the girl to make a home of her own. For that reason then all industrial courses are not confined to technical instruction merely even when supplemented by demonstration classes in the various departments, but they call for the performance of certain assigned duties of a practical nature which exercise skills in cooking, baking, kitchen work, house-cleaning, laundry work, mending clothes, and all those household activities which the teacher must be ready to convey to classes of less fortunate children of her race.

The school is Catholic in atmosphere, and requires general

⁷ Data furnished by the Motherhouse, Cornwells Heights, Pa.

conformity to external regulations which, avoiding conflict with the individual's belief when not Catholic, aim to conduce to good order. The Institute is solely concerned with providing the opportunity for every colored girl to get a thorough Christian training and at the same time gain a mastery of all the branches provided in a standard high school, to which is added the special training required to fit her for the teaching career.⁸

The contribution of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament to Negro education within Maryland and the District of Columbia may be summarized as

Direct

1. Through their center in Washington.
2. Through their financial aid and advisory assistance.
3. Through immediate instructional help to colored Catholic teachers.

Indirect

1. Through their college, from which members of the teaching personnel for colored schools within the State and District have received higher training.
2. Through their Normal School, which has provided professional training for colored aspirants to a teaching career within the State.

The Sisters of the Good Shepherd, otherwise Religious of Our Lady of Charity, have for their special mission to labor for the rescue of unfortunates girls and women, and to save little children from the evils of a depraved life. Inasmuch as many of the inmates of their houses are little girls whose education must be continued, their work is closely identified with schoolroom activities and instruction in home-making.

Up to the year 1892 their services in Baltimore had been restricted to white children, and whatever colored children had been assigned to their care, were domiciled and trained in Washington. In 1892, however, the demand became imperative that a separate house of the kind for the colored be opened in Baltimore. The prime mover in the cause of this phase of educational work, was Reverend L. J. Welbers, S. S. J. He enlisted the cooperation of the provincial su-

⁸ Letterhouse, M. D., *Ideals in Education*, in *Mission Fields at Home* (Cornwells Heights, Pa.). I, No. 4, p. 66, January, 1929. Data on the topics of the foregoing narrative were furnished also by the Motherhouse at Cornwells Heights, Pa.

perior of the Good Shepherd nuns, and of her Assistant. They in turn assigned six very able members of their community to the duty of organizing the school and establishing the routine activities of the house. The members of this unusual teaching staff were all white women. By August, 1892, the House was ready for occupancy. A donation of ten thousand dollars through the generosity of Mother Katharine Drexel⁹ enabled the promoters of the project to acquire property at the corner of Calverton Road and Franklin Street. The formal opening occurred on the twenty-ninth of September of the same year in the presence of His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons. On the opening day five children were admitted, and at the close of the first year the attendance was twenty-one. The continued increase in the number of children made necessary the erection of new buildings. The latest building is completely equipped with classroom facilities, infirmary, clinic, dentist's room, domestic science department, kitchen and dining room. In addition it has all the conveniences needed in boarding school, such as showers, playrooms and the like. Well-equipped playgrounds are provided. A second permanent building provides additional classrooms, and houses the industrial occupations, where instruction is given in needle work, sewing by hand and on machines. Each industry is taught with a view of enabling the child to earn her own living when the time comes to leave school.

All under sixteen are obliged to go to school daily, and lessons in cooking are given to all. A cooking-school with every modern improvement has been installed. Within the past year or so, an orchestra has been organized, and music lessons are given on various instruments: violin, cello, saxophone, cornet, and the piano. Choral clubs and dramatics furnish additional cultural and recreational features.

The attendance last year (1931) was 122 colored girls, ranging in age from eleven to twenty-one years. These girls are placed there by civil or parental authority, or in some instances they come of their own free will. The majority of

⁹ Foundress of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament a generous promoter of the Negro's welfare.

them, however, are committed by the Juvenile Court of Baltimore City. No discrimination as to religion is made, the only qualifications being a definite need of training, and a mental capacity to benefit thereby.

Their stay varies from three months to their majority. The short-term commitments greatly retard the work. Experience has proved that it is impossible to form the girls to habits of virtue and industry in less than a period of two years. Many of those committed by the Court are given a parole at the end of a year, but it is generally found that one year is inadequate to undo a faulty past and to build up a stable character for the future.

Religion is the dominant influence brought to bear upon the pupils in the effort to bring about permanent reforms in conduct and to establish the foundation for a stable character. The results have been in keeping with the expectations, where the child was long enough subjected to spiritual influences. Many of the pupils have embraced a strictly religious life, and have proved faithful to its obligations, serving their fellow colored people in works of charity and by working for the education of the young of their race. Indeed, a number of them have aspired to lead a cloistral life in a very strict form, and have for several years followed the observances of the Magdalen Community in accordance with the Rule of St. Teresa.¹⁰ To explain just what all that means and to emphasize the implications as to the Negro's fitness to embrace a way of living that calls for a high degree of sacrifice the following brief account is borrowed from *The Colored Harvest* for October-November, 1931:

One hundred years ago August 28 the first Sisters Magdalens Community was founded by the Venerable Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia Pellitier, foundress of the Generalat of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. Today communities of Magdalens may be found all over the world.

But there is one community of Magdalens which is unique—it is the Magdalen Community of the House of the Good Shepherd for

¹⁰ The facts set forth in the foregoing account were furnished by a member of the Good Shepherd Community who was one of the first staff of teachers at the Calverton house. They have been drawn from the archives of the community, and are entitled "Gleanings from the Calverton Annals."

colored girls at Baltimore, Md. It is the only community of colored Magdalens in the world. It was founded in 1922 and has proved to be an outstanding success. It numbers thirteen at present; lack of larger housing facilities prevents further growth for the time being.

Thus again, in this little community of colored Magdalens living a life of the severest austerity does the Catholic Church tangibly express her confidence in the native ability of the colored race to rise to the highest pinnacles of perfection as exemplified in her cloistered communities of sisters. The saintly lives of the Sisters Magdalens in this little community should serve as an inspiration to the millions of Negroes in this country who are seeking the true Fold.—J. T. G.

Another foundation, which had for its purpose in the beginning exclusive attention to the welfare and education of Negroes, was made in Baltimore about 1890. It bears the name Mission Helpers of the Sacred Heart. In the early years of its existence the members conducted catechism classes and certain kinds of industrial training; went about the various hospitals and charitable and penal institutions looking for Catholic Negroes who needed instruction and encouragement to attend their religious duties; and visited the poor in their homes to prepare the sick for the sacraments. As the community grew larger the work grew broader, and the activities extended to the outlying parishes in the counties which were unable to have schools for the colored children.

After about fifteen years of work more or less experimental in nature the Society was reorganized, and given a canonical status November 5, 1906. Thenceforth the members broadened their services to include all classes of people regardless of whether they were colored or not. They still devote attention to the Negroes, however; and since 1896, conduct an industrial home for colored girls on West Biddle street; and elsewhere in the city, a Day Nursery. Their catechetical work in the counties still brings them in contact with the colored child, as does their school work in Porto Rico.¹¹

The School Sisters of Notre Dame have been identified with educational and charitable work in Baltimore since 1847. Their interest in the Negro and his welfare was awakened from the first. The same attitude towards the colored was

¹¹ The Catholic Church in the United States, II, 436-440.

characteristic of that Order elsewhere, and we read that in 1856 they opened a school for colored children in St. Louis, first as a night school to which they afterwards admitted adult women in order to give them an opportunity to learn, at least, how to read and write.¹²

In Baltimore one of the earliest turns their solicitude for the colored people took was to help them to help themselves. The channel through which they saw this could best be done was education. Accordingly they chose an existing institution as means to effect that aid. The Oblates had schools, and were thus in immediate contact with the untutored Negro; but they themselves stood in need of enlightenment, guidance, and professional training. To gain admittance to the regularly constituted agencies for teacher training, and to schools of higher learning, was out of the question. In this dearth of opportunity the Oblates turned in their difficulties to the School Sisters of Notre Dame, from whom they received help, advice, and encouragement. For more than half a century a generous assistance was given, marked by an un-failing readiness to share with the colored nun the best they possessed in the way of culture and learning.¹³ Consonant with the spirit that animated them in the early days was their promptness to admit the Oblates to their schools of higher studies when qualified to pursue them. At present Notre Dame college has thrown open its educational courses to the colored nun on an equal footing with the white.

Summary. From the narrative just given the following facts are extracted for special emphasis as contributing to establish the validity of the assumptions on which this study rests:

(1) Since 1890, four other religious communities of teaching sisters have widened their field by taking up educational work in the interests of the colored race within Maryland and the District of Columbia.

(2) With one, the work is restricted to preservative, cor-

¹² Sherwood, Grace H., *The Oblates' Hundred and One Years*, p. 209.

¹³ Sherwood, *Ibid.*, p. 194.

rectional, and reformatory phases of education. The children, being boarders, are not only subjected to classroom contacts, but are under supervision and guidance in all extra-classroom activities.

(3) Two of the communities referred to in (1) have played a dual role: (a) they have provided facilities for teacher training for those whose color debarred them from the usual normal school advantages; and they have admitted to college work in their colleges the colored nun; (b) they have taken up classroom work in colored parochial schools.

(4) One community, of those enumerated in (1), conducts an industrial home for colored girls, and engages in welfare work and teaching Sunday schools in parts of the nearby counties still without parochial schools.

CHAPTER XI

THE COMPLETION OF A HUNDRED YEARS

THE CATHOLIC RURAL SCHOOLS AND VOCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

In November, 1929, the Oblates celebrated the centenary of their existence with fitting ceremonies in the Cathedral in Baltimore, at which the Most Reverend Michael J. Curley, Archbishop of Baltimore, sang the Solemn High Mass, and Reverend Peter Guilday of the Catholic University preached the Sermon. The presence of a concourse of white and colored persons gave a token of the high esteem in which the Oblates are held, and served to convey to them the general Catholic appreciation of the service they had rendered to religion and education for one hundred years.¹

In the field of education the Oblates have expanded upward and outward since 1900. Their upward enlargement has been characterized by more complete academic and professional training of their teachers on the one hand, and by the lifting of their schools to a higher level of efficiency and scholarship on the other. St. Frances' Academy is a standard high school, and their other schools both in Baltimore and Washington meet the diocesan requirements in full. Their schools outside the state have also met the requirements imposed in the respective localities where the schools exist.

The Curriculum of 1932

The following represents the curriculum at St. Frances' Academy, Baltimore, Md., for courses of secondary level:

ACADEMIC DEPARTMENT		
Subject	Periods per week	Years
English	5	4
Modern Language, French or Spanish	5	2
Latin	5	2 or 3
Mathematics, Algebra and Geometry	5	3
History	5	3

¹ Sherwood, Grace H., *op. cit.*, pp. 199-205.

Subject	Periods per week	Years
Science	7	2
Religion	5	4
Physical Training	3	4
Vocal Music	1	4
Art	1	4

Minimum requirements for graduation, 16 units

RELIGION

First Year

Christian Doctrine: Dogma. The Apostles' Creed. Liturgy of the Church.

Second Year

Christian Doctrine: Christian Morality. Sin. Commandments of God and the Church. Liturgy of the Church.

Third Year

Christian Doctrine: Grace. Prayer. The Sacraments and Sacramentals. Church History.

Fourth Year

Review of Christian Doctrine.

ENGLISH

First Year

Rhetoric and Grammar.

Composition: Sentence building and paragraph structure. Oral and written composition drawn from daily experiences. Special attention to narration and description.

Required Reading: Shakespeare, one play, either a tragedy or comedy. Scott, Dickens, Stevenson, Cooper, Benson, Wiseman; two novels to be chosen from these authors. Tennyson, Longfellow, Coleridge, Scott, Lowell, Whittier; a narrative poem to be chosen from these authors. Supplementary Reading.

Second Year

Rhetoric and Grammar.

Special attention given to exposition and argumentation.

Composition: Short themes on the experience and on the reading of the student.

Required Reading: Shakespeare, one tragedy and one comedy.

Poetry: Palgrave, "The Golden Treasury," Book II and III with special attention to Dryden, and Gray. Collins, Cowper and Burns with others may be added if desired. Three Short Stories by Hale, Dickens, Aldrich, Kipling, Poe, Page, Stevenson and Stockton.

Supplementary Reading.

Third Year

Rhetoric and Composition: Varied themes, both oral and written; book reviews; two essays of considerable length.

Required Reading: Dickens, Tale of Two Cities; Wordsworth, Excursion (Book I.), Hawthorne, House of Seven Gables; Tennyson, Idylls of the King; Addison, Sir Roger de Coverley Papers; Shakespeare, Macbeth.

Supplementary Reading.

Fourth Year

Rhetoric and Composition: General review of the principles of rhetoric, varied themes, both oral and written; book reviews; two or three essays of considerable length.

History of the English Language.

Required Reading: Shakespeare, Henry V. or Hamlet; Milton, *l'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Lycidas* or *Comus*; Burke, Speech on Conciliation with the American Colonies; Webster, First Bunker Hill Oration; Washington, Farewell Address; Carlyle, Essay on Burns; George Eliot, Silas Marner.

Supplementary Reading.

The vocal interpretation of literature and the memorizing of the best forms of prose and poetry are obligatory throughout the Academic Course.

MATHEMATICS

First Year

Algebra to Quadratics: Fundamental operations. Factoring. Fractions. Linear equations in one unknown quantity, and simultaneous linear equations involving two unknown quantities. Graphs, and graphical representation in general. The construction and interpretation of graphs. Exponents and radicals: simple cases. Numerical trigonometry.

Second Year

Algebra: Quadratics and Beyond. Quadratics. Involution and Evolution. Radicals. Binomial Theorem. Arithmetic and geometric series. Simultaneous Quadratics. Graphs. Ratio and Proportion. Variation. Inequalities. Logarithms.

Third Year

Plane Geometry: Five books.

SCIENCE

Second Year

Biology: Study of the structure and habit of plants and animals. Physiology and Hygiene. Laboratory and note-book work.

Fourth Year

Chemistry: Common Elements and their Compounds; their preparation, properties and uses. Carbon and some of its compounds. Note-book and laboratory records.

HISTORY

First Year

Ancient History: The Oriental Nations; Greece and Rome.

Second Year

Modern History.

Fourth Year

United States History and Civics.

LATIN

First Year

Latin Grammar. Latin Readings.

Second Year

Latin Reading: Selections from Caesar's Gallic War. Prose Composition.

Third Year

Selections from Caesar and Cicero. Prose Composition.

SPANISH

First Year

Training in pronunciation, fundamental principles of grammar; drill in verbs. Constant exercise in reading and translation from easy prose. Dictation.

Second Year

Advanced study of grammar. General principles of syntax. Reading of selected portions of prose classics. Principles of composition and letter writing. Dictation. Conversation.

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

Instruction in Instrumental Music is given on the piano and violin. Thoroughly modern methods are used.

The course followed embraces not only studies of technical value, but also selections from the best composers. This enables students to cultivate and develop musical expression and interpretation.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

This department consists of eight grades. Pupils who have satisfactorily completed the course of study are eligible for admission to the High School department.

NEEDLE WORK

Plain sewing, mending, darning and embroidery receive special attention in the domestic art classes.

HONORS

The Diploma of the Academy is awarded to the pupils, who in completing the Academic Course, have attained the required average in studies and deportment.

The following medals are conferred at commencement:

Gold and Silver Medals for Excellence and Deportment.

Gold and Silver Medals for Improvement in Music.

A Gold or Silver Medal for Mathematics.

A Gold or Silver Medal for Composition.

A Gold Medal for Embroidery.

The outward expansion noted above—which may be taken incidentally as an endorsement of their methods and an approval of their progress—consists in their taking over the conduct of schools already in existence, or in establishing new schools in places far from Maryland.

The first of these foundations undertaken since 1900 was the Cuban mission in Havana, where school was opened in January, 1901. Seven years later the Oblates opened a school

at Cardenas. Between the years 1909 and 1912 they conducted a school at Santa Clara; likewise between 1908 and 1922 they taught school at Vedado. In 1924 they began, and still continue, a school at Camaguey.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE OBLATE SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE, 1932 *

<i>School</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Baltimore, Md.</i>			
St. Frances' Academy.....	..	58	58
St. Barnabas' School, now			
St. Catherine's Academy.....	162	183	345
St. Monica's School.....	88	90	178
<i>Washington, D. C.</i>			
St. Cyprian's School.....	197	182	379
St. Augustine's School.....	142	173	315
St. Vincent de Paul's School..	100	90	190
<i>Ridge, Md.</i>			
St. Peter Claver's School.....	71	67	138
<i>Alexandria, Va.</i>			
St. Joseph's School.....	36	62	98
<i>Charleston, S. C.</i>			
Immaculate Conception School.	232	288	520
St. Peter's School.....	49	47	96
<i>St. Louis, Mo.</i>			
St. Rita's School.....	..	31	31
St. Frances' Home,			
Normandy, Mo.....	..	75	75
<i>Leavenworth, Kansas</i>			
Holy Epiphany School.....	30	77	107
Guardian Angels' Home.....	59	..	59
<i>Cuba</i>			
Our Lady of Charity School,			
Havana, Cuba.....	6	56	62
San Jose School,			
Cardenas, Cuba.....	17	26	43
Cayetano de Quesada School..	11	41	52
Totals	1200	1546	2746

* For the year 1912, the approximate number of children under the direction of the Oblate Sisters of Providence was 1270.

In 1903 the Oblates went to Old Providence Island, in the Caribbean Sea. Their stay there, though short, was filled with adventure, hardships, and wonderful experiences.

The Oblates began school work in Charleston, S. C., 1917,

in two schools. From the first these schools were crowded, at least seventy-five per cent. of the children being non-Catholics. The Charleston mission, a success from the beginning, is one of the largest schools the Oblates conduct.

In 1924, the Oblates assumed charge of the colored school at Ridge, Maryland, a strongly rural community.

The parochial school at St. Augustine's parish, Washington, was staffed by Oblates in 1908; and the school attached to the church of St. Vincent de Paul was put under the management of the same Sisters in 1927. Since 1918 the Oblates have conducted a school in Alexandria, Va.; and since 1911 they have been the teaching staff at St. Barnabas, Baltimore. This school was moved in 1932 to St. Catherine's Academy, Harlem Avenue. St. Monica's school in South Baltimore has been taught by them since 1924.

The pertinence of the enumeration of these educational enterprises outside the State of Maryland to the topic for exposition in this study rests on the fact that the teachers all came from Baltimore, were trained in Baltimore, and still owe attachment to the central house of administration located in Baltimore. They may be claimed legitimately, it is believed, as a part of the diocesan contribution to the education of the Negro.

Cardinal Gibbons' Institute, Ridge, Maryland, owes its inception to the joint action of the Jesuit pastors laboring in Southern Maryland during the second decade of the present century. The prime movers in its inauguration were Reverend Lawrence J. Kelley, Reverend Brent Matthews, and Reverend John Lafarge, the first two of whom purchased the site, and negotiated the early details of its establishment with Cardinal Gibbons. Once the movement for its foundation was under way, the original promoters withdrew from active participation in the affairs of its management, and transferred titles to the trustees who have since directed its destinies.

Buildings were erected, and a staff of teachers gathered from among colored educators of eminent standing, experi-

ence, and scholarship. At once it became a distinctly Negro enterprise, with the Archbishop of Baltimore, however, as the guiding spirit.

The Institute stands as a memorial to the zeal and interest of the late Cardinal Gibbons for the colored race. It is the only attempt that has been made to carry out the Hampton-Tuskegee plan of education north of the Potomac River. With the exception of the activities of Mrs. Morrell, it is the only considerable enterprise ever undertaken for the benefit of the colored people by any Catholic lay group. It is also the only institution for young men and women of the colored race under Catholic auspices to be entrusted entirely to a colored faculty.²

The Cardinal having died before all details necessary to a plenary functioning of the institution were planned, the assignment of bringing the work to fruition devolved upon Archbishop Curley.

The institution started with an empty treasury and a group of thirteen very raw students. Yet in the few years that it has existed (it was incorporated under the laws of Maryland in 1922), it has developed, step by step, a strong program of academic, industrial, and extension work.

The Institute is open to both boys and girls of the colored race. Industrial work for the girls includes plain sewing, cooking, and the handicrafts. The girls do all the cooking and laundry work for the boarding department.³

The industrial program for the boys is tied up with agriculture, and such trades and crafts as find ready application in connection with agricultural and rural problems. The use of tools in carpentry, in masonry and bricklaying, and in the construction, repair, and operation of farm machinery, is taught with a view to the permanent acquisition of the trade skills involved. The principles of dairy farming and crop raising are stressed; and other farm activities, such as poultry and live stock raising, bee-culture, orcharding and the like, are emphasized.

The students are provided with opportunities to defray part of their school expenses by work, thus inculcating lessons of thrift and self-reliance.

Nor is the Institute without its academic program. This is based on the religious, economic, and social needs of the people, extending from

² Gillard, John T., *The Catholic Church and the American Negro*, pp. 186-187.

³ Gillard, John T., *op. cit.*, p. 187.

the first year of junior high school to a full four-year high school course. Weekly lectures in religion are given by a Jesuit Father who is chaplain of the institution.⁴

The head of the Institute is Victor H. Daniel, who has worked out a very successful program. He writes,

The Cardinal Gibbons' Institute, at Ridge, Maryland, is not a Catholic attempt to *help the poor Negro*, but a Catholic determination to assist in the progressive development of the Negro.

When this educational project, which prefers to call itself a *service*, rather than an institution, was turned over to a Negro faculty, seven years ago, no plans for its development had been made, other than that it was to be an industrial school—a term which has fallen into ambiguity and disrepute through inaccurate usage.

Whatever there may be of merit in the program which has been worked out, and is being developed by this Negro faculty, lies in the adaptability and flexibility of the work. To have carried to this field a ready-cut program and to have attempted to superimpose such a program upon the peculiar problems of an undeveloped people, would have been fatal.

... by close observation of the people and their needs at all times, and by careful adjustments made as the growth of the project and the development of the students indicated, such a program has been evolved.

The greatest need in Negro life today is education that prepares the student for living in the fullest sense of the word—education that will enable him to stand on his own feet, and to adjust himself to the facts of life steadfastly, with faith and with vision.⁵

In summary Mr. Daniel's objectives are:

1. Instruction in Negro history;
2. The effective presentation of religion;
3. Constant correlation of classroom work with daily life;
4. Effective teaching;
5. Participation in rural welfare activities;
6. Preparation for rural leadership;
7. A sense of the nobility of honest labor, and a preparedness to step up higher when the opportunity is open.

"As a physical plant," continues Mr. Daniel, "the Institute, dear to us as it is, does not amount, comparatively speaking, to the proverbial hill of beans. It is only as an attitude—as a project in true Catholicism, plus modern pedagogy, plus imagination, plus common sense, that the Institute lives and moves, and has its being. It is all a matter of values."⁶

⁴ Gillard, John T., *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁵ Daniel, Victor H., Cardinal Gibbons' Institute, A Study in Values, Mission Fields at Home, October, 1931, pp. 9-11.

⁶ Daniel, Victor H., *ibid.*

For the most part, all conspicuous achievements in the field of education in behalf of Catholic colored children were effected by church action in dense centers of population both before the Civil War and afterwards. The cities, and not the rural parts, were the places where educational effort was mainly made. For all that, however, occasional showings were made in places remote from urban centers. The earliest elementary school for colored children which might be regarded as rural, was located at Emmitsburg, and tradition assigns its establishment to Mother Seton, foundress of the Sisters of Charity. However that may be, the earliest teachers were colored persons, and even as late as 1886 the teacher was a Negro named Walthers; but in 1887 the Sisters were in charge of the school.⁷ A colored school was opened at Marlboro by the Josephites in 1875, and had an attendance of 100.⁸

These two schools, like other attempts which come occasionally under notice, had an intermittent existence, functioning for a while and then closing, perhaps eventually to be completely resuscitated as was the case with the Marlboro school when it reopened in 1927 with the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, from Scranton, Pa., as teachers. There are 100 pupils in seven grades with three teachers.

In 1913, a school for colored children was opened at Bryantown. This school has carried on vigorously ever since its foundation, and may be regarded as the first permanently established colored rural school in the diocese.

At St. Inigoes, St. Mary's County, there existed for a while a school exclusively for colored children. In St. Mary's City, in the same county, a school taught by a colored woman has been in operation since 1916. The same year a school for colored children was opened at Ridge, in the same country, and taught by colored teachers. Since 1927 the teachers have been Oblates from Baltimore. In 1923 a parochial school for colored children was opened at Ellicott City. At Annapolis there is a prosperous parochial school

⁷ St. Joseph's Advocate, 1887.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1883.

for the colored, with the School Sisters of Notre Dame as the teachers.

Attempts to supply Catholic schools for colored children in distinctly rural districts have encountered two special obstacles; lack of money to provide school facilities and to maintain teachers, and a lack of teachers themselves who are prepared and willing to undertake that kind of work.

To help solve the problem of financing a parish school in a rural community there has been organized a free-will association called the League of the Little Flower. The allotments of money to needy parishes in rural communities are sanctioned indifferently whether the school benefited by the grant be for colored children or for white children. As for a solution of the teacher problem, time is gradually making amends by drawing more regular teaching communities into the field through a missionary spirit.

Besides the fully established parish schools for Negro children, some of which have been noted, summer schools have been conducted by groups of Sisters for several years. In some instances these teachers go into localities where there never has been a parish school, and for six weeks or two months carry on intensive work for the education of colored children. In other instances they conduct special school work for the same purpose, scattering in all directions from a parochial center to reach those who, by reason of tender age, or remote distances, cannot attend school during the regular period. An example of that kind of missionary school work is found at La Plata, Md., and is carried on by the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart. Six teachers from the La Plata school teach colored children on Saturdays, dispersing to the different outlying missions attached to that parish. Examples of the other type of summer school are furnished by the Sisters of Mercy and the Mission Helpers.

Summary. The salient facts of the foregoing chapter which possess value as sustaining evidence for the thesis to be proved are:

- (1) The Oblates of Providence, the first body of organ-

ized and trained teachers of the colored race, have completed one hundred and four years of continuous educational service for the children of their race; they furnish the teaching staffs for seventeen schools, and teach 2,746 colored children; their field of action extends to four states outside of Maryland and the District of Columbia, and to the island of Cuba;

(2) In point of teaching efficiency The Oblates have advanced to a degree of excellency in keeping with that of the other parochial school teachers; many of them have completed the standard college courses of such colleges as Villanova and Xavier University, New Orleans;

(3) Their schools have been raised to the level of the regular diocesan schools;

(4) They have attained a permanent status, and are equipped and ready to extend their activities to meet the educational demands that will arise for the betterment of their race;

(5) The Cardinal Gibbons' Institute at Ridge, Md., is a response to the demand for a vocational school of secondary level, to which boys and girls of high school age can look for preparation to face the problems of rural life; furthermore the fact that the Institute is staffed with colored teachers is likewise to be stressed;

(6) The past twenty years have witnessed a firm trend towards providing parochial school facilities for the Catholic colored children in rural districts; this trend, and the results so far attained, are significant evidence that Negro education under Catholic auspices has attained the marks of an organized system. (See Table IX).

CHAPTER XII

THE JOSEPHITES

The Josephites have widened their activities since 1900, very especially in the field of higher education for the Negroes. Besides promoting elementary school work, and fostering the extension of Negro education at a secondary level, several of their members have been actively associated with the college work carried on at the New Unit of Xavier University.

Besides these phases of higher education of which the colored people are the immediate beneficiaries, the Society has carried on an extensive program of what might be called internal education. The purpose of work in that direction is to prepare men to assume leadership in Church affairs where the Negro's interests are involved. That means a building up of a clergy to continue the work already under way and to enter new fields where greater expansion calls for additional workers. Since education must ever be the handmaid of their missionary endeavors, it is but a corollary that the Society must prepare educators; and that they have done, and are prepared to do in a more excellent manner henceforth. At Newburgh, N. Y., the college department is located; the seminary and university work is carried on in Washington.

The policy of making the parochial school of prime importance in their parish work has been continued even more energetically than previously. The growth of their schools has been uninterrupted and healthy as the following table shows.

The following table is based on the data published in *The Colored Harvest* between 1920 and 1932.

In the April-May, 1932, issue of *The Colored Harvest*, the official organ of the Society, there appeared the Superior General's report for 1931, and an analysis of the same by Reverend John T. Gillard, S. S. J., Ph. D. The Superior General, Very Reverend Louis B. Pastorelli, S. S. J., LL. D.,

graciously gave consent that it might be used in this study to illuminate what is being done by the Josephites for the colored man in the way of education under Catholic auspices.

TABLE IV

A STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF THE NUMBER OF PUPILS ATTENDING SCHOOLS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF ST. JOSEPH'S SOCIETY, TOGETHER WITH THE NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED, FROM 1920 TO 1932

Year	Pupils	Teachers	Schools	Night Schools
1920-1921	8,606	170	39	..
1922-1923	9,902	205	40	..
1924-1925	9,925	239	44	..
1925-1926	9,857	246	45	556
1926-1927	10,509	253	48	503
1927-1928	10,947	255	64	503
1931-1932	13,035	297	65	..

NOTE—Data for 1921, 1923, 1928, 1929, 1930, and 1931 were not made available.

Accordingly it will be incorporated as part of the thesis, together with such parts of Doctor Gillard's analysis as have to do with education.

TABLE V

REPORT OF ST. JOSEPH'S SOCIETY FROM JANUARY 1, 1931 TO JANUARY 1, 1932

House of Administration, Baltimore, Md.....	5 Priests		
St. Joseph's Seminary, Washington, D. C.....	2 Priests	61 Seminarians	6 Sisters
Epiphany Apostolic College, Newburgh, N. Y.....	7 Priests	81 Students	10 Sisters
St. Joseph's Industrial School, Clayton, Del.....	2 Priests	97 Students	5 Sisters 6 Instructors

Table V represents the phase of educational work which insures continuity for Negro education under Catholic auspices in the United States. This phase provides a constant supply of priests to carry on the work, to advance it into other fields, and to insure an administrative staff for the Society.

TABLE VI

SCHOOLS ATTACHED TO PARISHES SERVED BY THE JOSEPHITE FATHERS
IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BALTIMORE

City and Parish	Pupils	Teachers
<i>Baltimore</i>		
St. Francis Xavier.....	..*	
St. Monica.....	178	4 Oblate Sisters of Providence
St. Peter Claver.....	575	9 Sisters of St. Francis
St. Pius.....	345	8 Oblate Sisters of Providence
<i>Washington</i>		
St. Vincent de Paul.....	190	5 Oblate Sisters of Providence

* This school was closed when the city purchased the property for the Bath Street viaduct.

Doctor Gillard writes,

The Josephite Fathers may rightly claim recognition as one of the major contributors to Negro education. On their missions they maintain sixty-five schools attended by 13,035 children. While many of our urban schools are relatively minor when compared with the large public schools which a benevolent Government is backing financially, they are with very few exceptions offering the same curricula of studies as the public schools. At the same time in many a rural section the Catholic school represents the sole opportunity for even a rudimentary knowledge of the elements.

Six of our schools offer complete high school courses, while six others are in the process of building up the high school department. Some have been approved by the State Departments of Education, while others, due to the financial outlay which would be entailed, have been unable to meet the necessary laboratory and library equipment demanded as a condition for recognition—otherwise they are meeting all requirements.

After paying tribute to the Sisters who work in the schools of Negro parishes, Dr. Gillard continues:

In the schools of the Josephite missions are 226 teaching Sisters. Altogether we have 247 Sisters working with us. These Sisters are recruited from ten communities, including the Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Sisters of the Holy Family, two of America's four Negro sisterhoods.

Few ever stop to consider the valuable contribution being made by the so frequently unnoticed lay teacher on the Negro missions. While the ideal is completely to staff our schools with Sisters, in some instances the demand exceeds the supply. A competent lay teacher enables the zealous pastor to span the distance between a present opportunity of opening a school or adding another class and the future hope of securing more Sisters. In many a rural school where only one or two teachers are required it would be out of the question to send nuns. In either case the lay teacher is indispensable. And at the cost of what sacrifices our lay teachers often serve faithfully no one

will ever know. With a spirit of faith and a sense of service to their race they perform their duties unwaveringly, even though more congenial and remunerative occupations beckon to them.

The Josephite Fathers have seventy-one lay teachers in their schools. Apart from the added opportunities for education we are thus able to offer to Negro children, the contribution to race employment is not an inconsiderable item.

St. Joseph's Industrial School, Clayton, Del., offers training in certain industrial and agricultural pursuits, combined with a Junior high school education. Ninety-seven boys are being cared for by two Josephite Fathers, five Franciscan Sisters, and six instructors.

A Josephite Father is President of Xavier College, New Orleans, La., the only Catholic College for Negroes in the United States, conducted by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. Two more Josephites are engaged as professors in the College and Teachers' Training Departments. One Josephite is chaplain at the motherhouse of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, while another attends the House of the Good Shepherd, Baltimore.

In 1901 St. Joseph's College was founded at St. Joseph, Montgomery County, Alabama, for the purpose of educating and training Negroes as catechists and teachers for the colored missions. The Society also assumed control of Van de Vyer College in Richmond, Va., a high school and Junior commercial college. This institution is in addition a social center, and carries on a program of extension work with evening classes for adults. Its influence spreads wide among the colored populace of Richmond.

CHAPTER XIII

A SUMMARY

The preceding pages of this study have established the fact that the beginnings of educational work in behalf of the colored people of Maryland and the District of Columbia, in so far as such work was under Catholic auspices, were actuated by religious motives. The purpose of school work, whether it were informal tutorial instruction, or definite classroom organization of a later period, was to facilitate the conveying to the colored child's mind religious truths and moral precepts. This religious goal, constantly kept in view, dominated the work throughout. There was an intertwining of religion and education in every instance; education was an instrument which brought religion to bear upon the Negro's life and conduct, upon him as a being accountable to his Creator, and bound by social conventions and divine command to respect the claims of justice to his fellows of whatever grade. Nor does it appear that educational efforts for the colored man's benefit were calculated to make him rest satisfied with an inferior position, and to remain submissive to a state of servile bondage. Quite the opposite seems to have been the tendency: to help him to make something out of himself regardless of the social and economic handicaps which surrounded him. While eschewing all appeals to action in a revolutionary sense, the educational scheme pursued by Catholics in the Negro's interest in the years of slavery certainly did envision a hope of better things for him. Confined almost exclusively, as all formal school work was, to the free colored people, the early educational program was not beset with perplexities as to what to teach the slave. The slaveowner himself settled that question by an acquiescence which allowed only religious indoctrination.

As to the free Negro's schooling, the evidence adduced in this study shows that it too was in the beginning wholly informal. The inadequacy of such methods was felt by Catholic pastors of souls before the second decade of the nine-

teenth century had passed. Their attempts to impart religious instructions to illiterate colored children met with meager success. So it was that they had recourse to establishing schools where the elements of reading and writing were taught. But such schools lacked permanency; their life span rarely exceeded the years of interest one man could devote to them; they were destitute of stability. To give endurance to them was the need.

Such qualities, we have seen, were given to them, however, when Abbé Joubert's foundation of the Oblates guaranteed a supply of teachers working under vows and rule for the exclusive purpose of Catholic Negro education. Thenceforth there was a current of organization set under way, growing stronger and wider as it advanced.

Evidences of ecclesiastical encouragement and direction began to appear early, and took definite shape in the form of church legislative enactments made by two Plenary Councils and ten Provincial Councils held between 1830 and 1869.

Obstacles to the immediate execution of the desires and plans of the Hierarchy were numerous. The first of them was the poverty of the Church. Money was needed to carry out the program, and sufficient was not forthcoming to launch anything on a large scale, nay, even on a moderate scale, for Negro welfare. The colored people themselves were in great part in bondage, and therefore penniless; the free Negroes, though generous in their assistance, were of limited means and could never begin to finance even a small part of the program for the betterment of their race.

Perhaps even a greater drawback to any extension of educational advantages to the colored people up to the Civil War lay in a dearth of priests and nuns who could devote themselves to school work. A very constant lament of the Bishops of those years concerned their inability to supply that deficiency, even in the face of earnest appeals to Europe for help. A sufficient number of priests to care for the colored people and to direct the education of their children during those years might indeed have compensated for the shortage of money. The same would have assuredly held

true for school work, had there been enough religious teachers available to take up teaching in that field.

Though public sentiment in Maryland does not loom out conspicuously in favor of education of the Negro at all, there was for all that a spirit of tolerance, at least of a negative character, which allowed the work to go on unmolested, especially where the free Negroes were concerned. Nor does it appear that there was any strongly set attitude against imparting the rudiments of learning even to slaves in Maryland, provided such teaching showed no likelihood of unsettling the Negro, or of impairing his usefulness, or of depriving the master of the value of the slave's time. Hence, the absence of prohibitive legislation on the matter of teaching slaves, as was found in other states, is properly traceable to this mild indulgence on the part of the slaveholding interests in Maryland. How sincere and lasting such an attitude would have been in the face of an energetic campaign to educate other people's slaves, is a question, the answer to which would undoubtedly have brought determined opposition and resistance.

Again, it is questionable whether the slave population itself would have looked upon it as a boon to have education, even the most elementary, thrust upon their children. Few of them had even the scantiest conception of its value, and were just as likely to consider the learning of the three R's an additional burden laid upon their already overloaded shoulders, or some crafty device for getting more work out of them. They had to learn first what refreshment learning could bring them before they began to thirst for it. Slaves in the common run have not been known to relish learning for its own sake or for the sake of a hypothetical good it might later convey to them. Slavery was deadening to the birth of higher aspirations, and effectively quenched noble ideals once they came to a glow.

When at the Emancipation the old barriers of property rights were removed, and the Negroes were free men, Catholic prelates and clergy were awake to the opportunity for evangelization then offered. Equally conscious were they

too of their obligation and duty to care for the spiritual welfare of the newly enfranchised colored man. Entirely alert to the importance of schools, they proceeded to establish them as the most effective way to bring the Negro into the Church. That determination we have seen manifest itself in the proceedings of the Plenary Council, in 1866, and of the Provincial Council in 1869. The utterances of the Archbishop of Baltimore have already been given, and show how earnestly he was concerned with the Negro's welfare. Before death closed his eyes he saw planted in Baltimore a missionary and educational society which was destined to spread its branches throughout the South as the major enterprise for bringing to realization in great part the program of the Hierarchy for colored school work.

By 1870, then, the program of Catholic education, quite definitely outlined previously, began to show in concrete organized form. The older schools continued, with increased attendance, to broaden the curriculum and to set up a better system of grading. St. Frances' Academy, which had for years given courses of secondary grade, shaped the curriculum of the upper grade gradually to conform to the conventional high school courses of the 'eighties in many respects. Latin, however, occupied a very subordinate place, and Greek was not taught at all. On the other hand French and Spanish occupied prominent positions in the curriculum. For years St. Frances' had the distinction of being the only Catholic school for the colored in Maryland that ventured into the secondary field at all.

The period of intensive educational effort for the colored Catholics may be considered very properly as having its beginning in 1870 in Maryland and the District of Columbia, for then at any rate the aims of the Second Plenary Council were on a fair way to be realized. From that time on new agencies came into being, and the old established foundations began to expand and take up the work of teaching outside of the State. Several communities of teaching Sisters entered the field, either to make their headquarters in Baltimore, or to make Maryland the recipient of their benefac-

tions in one form or another. Besides the assistance which naturally came from increased numbers, a greater solidarity was secured by the measures which were effected by His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons, not only as they affected his diocese, but also in their bearings upon the Catholic schools for the colored throughout the United States.

The period which began at the dawn of the present century has been characterized by advances in school work for the colored children and their schools, which justify the conclusion that the colored schools under Catholic auspices have assumed an organized form of such definiteness of purpose and procedure as to warrant the term system. In an administrative sense the use of the term system in its broad implications may be challenged, because all schools under church control in the diocese form but one system under the authority of the Most Reverend Archbishop, the pastors, and the diocesan Superintendent of Schools. Without doing violence to the truth, however, the conviction prevails that the Negro educational work forms a distinct organized unit of the Catholic system, and is, itself, a system. In the first place Catholic schools for the colored have got to be in large measure self-sustaining. Colored parents, especially those in the large cities of the diocese, have shown themselves very loyal and generous supporters of their schools. The same generous and loyal spirit is discernible in the rural parts of the diocese, though it cannot be said that their contributions suffice in all cases to finance the work of the colored schools.

In the matter of curricula, the Catholic colored schools follow the same courses of study as the other diocesan schools, and the pupils are subjected to the same examinations.

As to the teachers, most of them in Maryland and the District of Columbia are colored women. In the Cardinal Gibbons' Institute the members of the staff are all colored persons, both men and women. In some schools the teachers are white women. In point of preparation and professional experience there is perhaps a shade of advantage in favor of

the white teacher. This was particularly true up to very recent years. The closed door of higher institutions of learning, under white control in the South, faced the oncoming Negro of ambitious soul when he sought to share in the intellectual and professional offering of these institutions. But a change has occurred chiefly since 1900. The New Unit of Xavier University, New Orleans, exclusively for Negro men and women, has furnished college trained teachers for the secondary schools of Maryland. St. Francis de Sales, a teachers' college, at Rock Castle, Va., is another source from which professionally trained teachers come. Of the colleges and professional schools under white management to which the colored Catholic teachers have had recourse for many years, the earliest one to supply their academic and normal training is Villanova College. Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pa., has welcomed the colored teaching nun for many years, and the College of Notre Dame of Maryland, on Charles Street extended, has for years admitted colored teachers to the extension courses conducted there. The summer school courses at the Catholic University are also open to them.*

The final phase of colored school work that has been studied and described in this study is the extension of parochial school advantages to the Negro children in rural localities. This movement had its beginning at Bryantown in 1913, where the pastor, Rev. Patrick E. Conroy, with the aid of Mother Katharine and the Board of Colored Missions, opened a school for colored children in the neighborhood. The school had an attendance of 135 children on the first day. The success of Father Conroy's venture gave assurance to other pastors similarly situated, and a steady growth of such schools has ensued in the twenty years that have elapsed since 1913.

Extension work for colored children too remotely situa-

* On June 13, 1934, the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred by the Catholic University upon two colored nuns, Sister M. Consolata and Sister Mary of Good Counsel, both Oblates of Providence who had made their studies at the Catholic Sisters College, Brookland.

ted from the parochial centers is carried on during the summer months in the form of summer schools, or in some instances moving schools, with a staff augmented by teachers from afar, who, when their own schools have closed, welcome the experience of a few weeks in a new environment.

The response of colored patrons of Catholic schools to the efforts made in their behalf by church educational agencies has been one of whole-hearted approval and satisfaction. The fruits, too, have amply repaid the toil of planting and watering. Accessions to the church have been numerous, accessions directly traceable to the school in every instance. In a social and economic sense the benefits arising from the schools have been commensurate with the pains taken to establish and maintain them among the Negroes. A disposition to orderliness and to be law-abiding is significantly manifest on the one hand, and a readiness to maintain self-respect and to exhibit patriotism and civic rectitude is conspicuous on the other. Such schools have proved to be a genuine contribution to public welfare in a way far beyond the mere banishing of illiteracy.

TABLE VII

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS FOR THE COLORED IN MARYLAND AND THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FROM 1818 TO 1933

Name of School	Date of Opening	Under the Direction of	Remarks
Georgetown, D. C.	1818	Jesuits	No mention of this school appears after 1830
St. Frances' Academy, Baltimore	1828	Oblates	In continuous existence until the present
St. Francis' Boys' School, Baltimore	1852	Oblates	Relinquished by the Oblates in 1868. Continued by Mr. "Billy" Williams of Frederick County till about 1871
The School at Fell's Point, Baltimore	1857	Oblates	Closed in 1864; reopened and discontinued in 1885
The School at Federal Hill, Baltimore	1857	Oblates	Discontinued in 1864

Name of School	Date of Opening	Under the Direction of	Remarks
The School at St. Francis Xavier's Baltimore	1868	Lay teachers	The girls were cared for at the free school connected with St. Francis. A free school for boys was conducted in the basement of St. Francis Xavier's Church (Sherwood, p. 149).
	1872	Josephites	Continued the school with other teachers
	1882	Franciscan Sisters	Primary and elementary grades. Later High School subjects were added. Ten pupils were following studies of secondary level in 1928. The school was closed when the city acquired the property for the Bath Street viaduct
The School at St. Augustine's, Washington	1874	Lay teachers	Primary and elementary subjects. By 1883, grammar, rhetoric, algebra and bookkeeping were taught
	1908	Oblates	The school continues as a parochial school of eight grades
A School at Marlboro	1875	Josephites	This school declined after the withdrawal of the Josephites, about 1880
	1926	Sisters I. H. M.	School re-established, with seven grades and two teachers
St. Peter Claver's, Baltimore	1890	Franciscan Sisters	A parochial school of eight grades
St. Cyprian's, Washington	1893	Oblates	A parochial school of eight grades
St. Monica's, Baltimore	1924	Oblates	This parish had school facilities as early as 1883, but was unable to carry on for lack of money. At times, classes were held, but it was only in 1924 that a permanent school was established
St. Barnabas', Baltimore	1911	Oblates	In 1932 St. Barnabas' was moved to St. Catherine's, Harlem Ave., a parochial elementary and high school
St. Vincent de Paul's, Washington	1927	Oblates	A parochial school of eight grades
The School at Bryantown, Md.	1913	School Sisters of Notre Dame	A parochial school of eight grades
The School at Ridge, Md.	1924	Oblates	A parochial school of eight grades
Cardinal Gibbons' Institute, Ridge, Md.	Inc. 1922	A staff of lay men and women	A secondary school, stressing agriculture and trades, and social welfare work
Good Shepherd, Baltimore	1892	Sisters of the Good Shepherd	A correctional school, with eight grades, and special courses in domestic science, sewing
St. Peter Claver's Industrial School, Baltimore	1896	Mission Helpers	A school of eight grades with courses in household work, sewing, laundry work

Name of School	Date of Opening	Under the Direction of	Remarks
Industrial School of Our Lady and St. Francis, Baltimore	1895	Franciscan Sisters	A school of eight grades with special courses for training in domestic arts
St. Elizabeth's Home, Baltimore	1882	Franciscan Sisters	Foundling Home and Orphanage
A School at Annapolis	About 1885	School Sisters of Notre Dame	A parochial school of eight grades
Connected with St. Paul's, Ellicott City, Md.	1923	School Sisters of Notre Dame	A parochial school of eight grades

TABLE VIII

A LIST OF SUBJECTS TAUGHT IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS FOR THE COLORED, AND THE DATE AT WHICH THEY ARE FIRST MENTIONED IN THE CURRICULUM

Year	Subjects	Year	Subjects
1818	Christian Doctrine	1874	Lace Embroidery
	Reading		Silk Embroidery
	Spelling		Tarlton Work Flowers
	Writing	1876	Latin
1831	Arithmetic	1877	Crochet Work
	English		Guitar
	French	1878	Crewel Work
	Embroidery		Harp
	Needlework		Sacred History
	Music	1879	Dressmaking
	Washing and Ironing	1880	Hemstitching
1842	Tapestry	1881	Ancient History
1867	Art		Modern History
	Dramatics	1885	Outlining and Cotton Embroidery
	Geography	1886	Japanese Embroidery
	U. S. History	1888	Map Drawing
1868	Domestic Economy	1889	Bookkeeping
	Mending and Darning		Geometry
	Marking		Roslyn Work
	Wax Work		Spanish
	Tufted Work	1900	Typewriting
1869	Housekeeping		Rhetoric
1873	Algebra	1925	Botany
	Composition Writing		Chemistry
	Drawing		
	Grecian and Transfer		
	Painting		
	Natural Philosophy		
	Painting		
	Rosin Fruit		
	Vocal Music		

TABLE IX

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS FOR COLORED CHILDREN IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF
BALTIMORE. NUMBER OF PUPILS AND NUMBER OF TEACHERS,
JANUARY 1, 1933

Name of School	Total Number of Pupils	Boys	Girls	Religious Teachers	Lay Teachers
<i>Baltimore City</i>					
St. Frances' Academy.....	58	..	58	..	..
St. Monica's.....	178	88	90	4	1
St. Catherine's.....	345	162	183	9	..
St. Peter Claver's.....	575	285	290	9	..
Good Shepherd.....	122	..	122	..	..
St. Francis' Orphanage.....	85	..	85	4	..
St. Elizabeth's Home.....	202	50	152	5	..
<i>Washington, D. C.</i>					
St. Cyprian's.....	379	197	182	7	..
St. Augustine's.....	318	142	176	9	1
St. Vincent's de Paul's.....	190	100	90	5	..
<i>In the Counties</i>					
St. Mary's, Annapolis.....	79	31	48	3	..
St. Mary's, Bryantown.....	119	54	65	3	..
St. Augustine's, Ellicott City..	42	23	19	1	..
St. Euphemia's, Emmitsburg..	11	4	7	1	..
St. Peter's, Libertytown.....	20	12	8	2	..
St. Joseph's, Morganza.....	89	37	52	2	..
St. Peter Claver's, Ridge.....	143	74	69	4	1
St. Mary's, Upper Marlboro..	94	36	58	3	..
Total	3049	1295	1754	71	3

APPENDIX I

Petition of the Catholic People of Color in Philadelphia 1817

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, held November 15th, 1817 the following Petition from "The Catholic People of Color residing in Philadelphia," was presented.

The Petition of the Catholic People of Color residing in Philadelphia humbly sheweth:

That your petitioners are destitute of the means to give their children a Catholic education: That the different Sectarians are seeking and encouraging us to send them that they may instruct them, but if we do they instruct them their way. That our children are destitute of the means to acquire the knowledge of our religion and the duties whereby they might be able to repel the incessant attacks made on them by a set of beings who can quote the Scriptures with every phrase in order to seduce the ignorant. We tremble for the fate of our children some of whom have been already seduced from our religion. Therefore we sincerely hope that your charitable Board will take them under your protecting wing as you have the poor of your own color and to have ours also instructed in a common English education and to appoint a teacher who will be careful above all things to cause them to know their catechism and have them say their morning and evening prayers, and we shall ever pray.

Joseph Burns	John Diamond	John Scott
Thomas Keen	Simon Hadock	John Carroll

The petition was referred to the Committee. It reported that in consequence of the heavy debt—the support of the St. Joseph's Society and the poor of the congregation—that nothing could be done until Summer. The records of the Trustees contain nothing to show that in "Summer" the matter of the Petition received any attention. Affairs were too much disturbed, we think, to permit the care of the young Colored children to be taken up. (Comment of the Editor, Mr. Griffin.)¹

¹ Griffin, M. I. J., *Petition of the Catholic People of Color in Philadelphia, 1817*, *American Catholic Historical Researches*, VII, 1890, 186 (Philadelphia, 1890).

APPENDIX II

A Biographical Sketch of Rev. Hector Joubert

M. Joubert was native of the west coast of France; his birthplace was St. Jean D'Angely, and the time of his birth, September 6, 1777. Beauvais was his home from the age of three till he was sent to the military school at Rebois-en-Bue. At the age of twenty-three he abandoned the career of a soldier, got employment in the tax-office, and was sent to San Domingo in 1800. Despite the disorders of the island he stayed there three years, until an awful massacre swept away all his kin on the island. Thereupon he fled to Cuba, where an uncle and nephew had previously taken refuge. From Cuba he and his two surviving kinsmen migrated to Baltimore, where he taught for a while in Madame Lecombe's fashionable school on South Calvert Street. In 1805 M. Joubert became a student for the priesthood in St. Mary's Seminary, and was ordained in 1810. Soon after his ordination he joined the Society of St. Sulpice. He was then thirty-three years old. In 1827 it fell to his lot to instruct the colored children in catechism; then began that series of plans for Negro education to the carrying out of which he devoted the major part of his time and energy till his death in 1843.²

² Shea, *op. cit.*, IV, 25; cf. Sherwood, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

APPENDIX III

From the Cathedral Archives, Baltimore, 39A. D4, p. 40

ANIMADVERSIONES THEOLOGORUM SEPTIMAE CONGREGATIONIS CIRCA
TITULUM X ET XI (PLENARY COUNCIL OF 1866)

Caput IV. De Nigrorum salute procuranda

Omnes theologi, quae hoc capite continentur, libentissime admiserunt, exceptiis iis, quae referuntur ad Sacerdotes episcopali characterе insignitos constituendos ut nigrorum curam, sub ordinariorum directione, suscipiant. Ideoque circa quasdam emendationes vel mutationes in hoc capite faciendas omnes convenerunt; scilicet No 519. Attamen . . . post illa verba *stimulis excitandis* addantur sequentia 'Ideoque pro successu *enixe optatur ut ex quacumque dioecesi Episcopi dimissorias literas concedant sacerdotibus illis qui saluti nigrorum operam dare voluerint.*'

Alia vero, quae usque ad nm 520 inveniuntur, expurgantur — No 520 quod si plures . . . verbis *Praefectos Apostolicos* substituantur verbum Praepositos tantum. No 521. In hac autem re . . . post illa verba *pro nigris statuatur* nihil amplius addatur.

Cum nunc temporis omnes in Europa circa futuram nigrorum in hac regione existentium sortem anxia mente inquirant, maxime opportunum fore huic congregationi visum est Patres humiliter rogare ut literas nomine hujus Plenarii Concilii ad Episcopos in Europa mittant, eos perenixe obsecrantes ut ipsi quoque conversionem nigrorum adjuvent ad istas oras mittendo juvenes ecclesiasticos, qui, postquam anglicum sermonem hic didicerint, tanto ministerio sese devovere queant.

Non abs re erit hunc in locum supplicationem quandam referre quae a quodam ex theologis proposita fuit. Haec ita se habet: 'Septimae Congregationis Theologi humiliter postulant, ut coram Patrum Secundae Baltimorensis Plenariae Synodae sapientissimo Coetu, sibi liceat considerandum proponere utilitatem atque opportunitatem condendae alicujus societatis vel congregationis tum ex sacerdotibus, tum ex laicis fratribus coalescentis, qui votis *ad tempus* constricti, unicam finem prosequi et totis viribus procurare se profiteantur, scilicet Nigrorum genus ad meliorem morum institutionem, et ad vitam religioni magis consonam elevare. Constitutiones autem et primas quasi lineas hujus modi Instituti adumbrare sapientiae Patrum reliquendum esse. Vix ac ne vix quidem minoris videtur esse momenti Institutio Monialium vel Sororum quae iisdem vinctae votorum saevamentis, nigras inter feminas, finem eundem pertingere satagant.'

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- (2) Clandestine methods of learning;
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- (4) General adverse attitude of whites to teaching the Negro;
- (5) General hostility, (a) of the laboring class, (b) of mechanics;
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VITA

Michael Francis Rouse was born in Bradford county, Pennsylvania, October 9, 1874. He attended the public elementary schools of the neighborhood, and St. Basil's parochial high school at Dushore, Pa. Next he attended Villanova College, from which he received the degree Bachelor of Science in June, 1895. In September, 1896, he joined the Xaverian Brothers in Baltimore, since which time he has been known as Brother Bede. From 1897 to the present time Brother Bede has been engaged in Catholic school work continuously, teaching subjects of high school level for the most part, in Somerville, Danvers and Worcester, Mass., Wheeling and Clarksburg, W. Va., Baltimore and Leonardtown, Md., Old Point Comfort, Va., Abbottstown, Pa., Bardstown and Louisville, Ky., and Washington, D. C.

Besides the professional training which he received under the direction of members of the Xaverian Brothers, Brother Bede has done work in summer schools at Harvard, at New York University, and at The Johns Hopkins University; he did part-time work at the University of Louisville for one year and at The Johns Hopkins University for two years; full-time work at Clark University for one and one-half years, at the University of Louisville for one year, (M. A. 1923), and at The Johns Hopkins University for one year.

Brother Bede held administrative positions in the schools at Washington, D. C., Abbottstown, Pa., and Clarksburg, W. Va.

